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VOL. XXVI] JULY-OCTOBER 1945 [PARTS III-IV

ANCIENT HISTORIC SITES OF BENGAL

BY

B. C. LAW

Bengal contains many ancient historic sites and it is not possible to give a detailed account of them in the following pages. I shall therefore deal with some of them as briefly as possible. *Visnupura*: Visnupura is in the Bankura District in west Bengal. It is a centre of music culture. For many centuries it had been the capital of the Malla rājās who gave the name of Mallabhūmi or the land of wrestlers to the country ruled by them. The Mallabhūmi comprised the whole of the modern district of Bankura and parts of the adjoining districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Manbhum and Singbhum. Ādi Malla was the first king who was noted for his great skill in wrestling and archery. Raghunātha who was the founder of the Malla dynasty of Visnupura was born while his parents were on their way to the sacred temple of Jagannātha at Puri. He defeated the neighbouring chiefs of Pradyumnapura (in the Joypore Police Station) which he made as his seat of government. The royal ensign of the rulers of Mallabhūmi bore the device of a serpent's hood because Raghunātha is said, according to tradition, to have been shaded by two huge cobras with their hoods spread over his head. The cobra's hood carved in stone is even now worshipped in that place under the name of Dandeśvari. The Hindu rājās of Visnupura were the rulers of a great portion of western Bengal long before the Mahommedan conquest by Bukhtiar Khilji,

Jagat Malla, a ruler of Visnupura, removed the capital from Pradyumnapura to Visnupura. The Rājās of Visnupura were Śiva[1]-worshippers. The temple dedicated to Malleśvara Mahādeva which is considered to be the oldest shrine, is still found there. The rājās afterwards became the ardent worshippers of Mrṇmayī (an aspect of *śakti*[2]) whose temple still stands there. The worship of Dharma[3] which Ramāi Paṇdit[4] introduced, became very popular at Visnupura The celebrated Bengali Mathematician Śubhamkara Rāya lived under the Malla kings who were great patrons of learning.

The city of Visnupura is named after the god Visnu Viṣnu was the deity of the royal house at the time of Bīr Hāmir in the 16th century A. D. who was a great supporter of Vaisnavism. The large stone-gateway of Visnupura fort and the great cannon call *Dalmardan* may be attributed to him. Many Vaisnava manuscripts were received by him and in quest of them, Śrīnivāsācārya came to Visnupura.

The magnificent temple of Rāsmañca was built by Bīr Hāmir. Among the later shrines, mention may be made of the following :

Temples of Śyāma Rāi, Kālācānd, Murali Mohan, Madan Gopāl, Madan Mohan, Rādhā Śyām, Lāljeu and Jodbānglā

The temples of Visnupura are mostly square buildings with a curved roof having a small tower in the centre Some of them have towers in four corners of the roof. The temple is called *Pañcaratna*, i. e., five towered or *Nava ratna* or nine towered. The Śyāma Rāi temple is one of the oldest temples of the Pañcaratna type in Bengal. Some of the temples at Visnupura contain scenes from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* on their walls.

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[1] Śiva is the third god of the Hindu Triad, the other two being Brahmā the Creator and Viṣṇu, the preserver, the destroying and reproducing deity (creator, destroyer and regenerator).

[2] Active power of a deity.

[3] *Dharmadeva*, God of Justice.

[4] Author of the *Śūnya Purāṇa* and *Śūnya pūjāpaddhati*. He was an exponent of *Dharma* cult in Bengal. Some hold that doggerel verses were composed soon after the Mahammedan conquest. He was a contemporary of Dharmapāla II who reigned in Gauḍa at the beginning of the 11th century A. D.

Susunia hill: Another site of historic importance in the district of Bankura is the village of Pokhrana or Puskarana on the Dāmodar river, about 25 miles east of the Susunia hill, which was the seat of administration of a ruler named Candravarman as far as can be gathered from an inscription on the hill.

Kenduli: It is a village also called Kendva Billa or Jayadeva Kenduli in the Bolpur thana of the Suri sub-division in the Birbhum district. It is situated on the north bank of the river Ajay, a few miles west of Ilambazar and about 22 miles south of Suri. It is famous as the birth place of the great Sanskrit poet Jayadeva who flourished in the 12th century A. D. He composed the well-known *Gita Govinda*, a Sanskrit lyrical poem, in praise of Rādhā & Krsna. The body of Jayadeva was buried and not burnt after his death and his tomb still stands at Kenduli. In the middle of January, a fair is held every year in his honour.

Tāmralipti (Tamluk): Tāmralipti (Tamluk) is situated in the district of Midnapore Tāmralipti or Damalipti is called a city of Suhma according to the *Daśakumāracarita* (Chap. V). The Epics, Purānas and Buddhist works mention this town. It was a great maritime port and an emporium of commerce from the 4th century B. C to the 12th century A. D. The temple of Bārga-Bhīmā mentioned in the *Brahmapurāna* which was an ancient vihāra (monastery) now exists in the town. The temple of Binduvāsinī was situated at Tāmralipti which was visited by the Chinese pilgrims Fā-Hien in the 5th century A. D. and Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A. D. This temple has been mentioned by Dandi in his *Daśakumāracarita*, who flourished in the 6th century A D. Hiuen Tsang saw a *stūpa* (dagoba) of Aśoka near this town I-tsing, another Chinese pilgrim, resided here in the Barāha monastery The present temple of Hari is said to have been built some 500 years after the destruction of the ancient temple of Binduvāsinī by the action of a river (Rupanārāyaṇa).

Navadvīpa: The present railway station of Navadvīpaghāṭ is 8 miles from the town of Kṛṣṇanagar in district of Nadia. To the west of this place, on the other side of the Ganges, stands the town of Navadvīpa, which is a sacred place of

the Vaiṣṇavas.[1] It is so called because it is a combination of nine islands It is the birth place of Caitanya who was born here in 1485. He preached the doctrine of *universal love* (love to all beings). Buddha also preached it. So did Mahāvīra-love, love towards the suffering and distressed world, love towards the happy and love towards the criminals. At the age of 24, Caitanyadeva, the great founder of new Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, left Navadvīpa and lived the life of a hermit. Ballālasena is said to have built a palace here and the ruins of this palace, known as Ballāladhipi (400 ft long and about 30 ft high) are found on the eastern coast of the Ganges, half a mile to the north of the present Māyāpura, as some portions of this Ḍhipi on the west side have been washed away by the Ganges. A court of justice was established there by Aśokasena, grandson of Lakṣmanasena and great-grandson of Ballālasena. At one time it was a great centre of Sanskrit learning and the home of many learned men, e. g., Bāsudeva Sārvabhauma, (a well-known logician), Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (an exponent of new logic in Bengal), Raghunandan Bhattācārya (the founder of the Dāyabhāga School of Hindu Law), and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamabāgīsh (a tantric scholar). Four learned men e g, Halāyudha, Pasupati, Sūlapāṇi and Udayanācārya (philosopher) flourished during the time of Lakṣmanasena It is still a sacred place to the Hindus.

Śāntipura : In the district of Nadia stands Śāntipura on the Ganges. It is the abode of the celebrated Vaiṣṇava reformer Advaitācārya, a contemporary and admirer of Śrī Caitanyadeva, an incarnation of Śiva and Viṣṇu. It contains the temples of Madanagopāla, Madanamohana, Kālācānd, Syāmacānd, etc. Here the celebrated teacher Advaita used to practise penances.

About four miles from Śāntipura stands the present village of *Phuliya* which is nine miles from Rānāghāt and fifty-four miles from Calcutta It is the birth place of the celebrated Bengali poet Kṛttivāsa, the author of the Bengali *Rāmāyana*. The well-

1 A sect in Bengal founded by Caityana who was regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. His chief doctrine is the duty of *bhakti* or love.

known Muslim follower of Caitanyadeva, Yavana Haridāsa, spent his days here in religious practices. To quote Krttivāsa—

> " *Grāmaratna Phuliyā jagate bākhāni*
> *Dakṣine paścime vahe Gaṅgātaraṅgini* "

It was prosperous at the time of Krttivāsa when the Ganges flowed on its south and west. It reminds one of the famous lines written on the memorial pillar raised at the site.

> *Hethā dvijottama!*
> *ādi Kavi Bāṅgālar* *bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇakāri*
> *Krttivāsa labhilā janam* ।
> *Surabhita sukavitve* *Phuliyār punyatirthe*
> *He pathik, sambhrame praṇama* ॥

The sum and substance of these lines is this "Oh traveller! respectfully bow down before this sacred place of Phuliyā where was born the composer of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa,* who was the best of the Brahmans and the foremost of the poets.

Plassey : The Palasi Railway Station in the district of Nadia is 93 miles from Calcutta. The famous battle-field of Plassey is about 2 miles to the west of the Railway Station. The name of this place is derived from the Palāśa trees (Butea Frondosa) which were plenty there The British under Lord Clive defeated the army of Siraj-ud-daula, the last independent Muslim ruler of Bengal in the mango-grove of the historic battle-field on the 23rd June 1757 A. D. This battle has been ably described in verses in the Bengali language in the famous book of Nabin Chandra Sen, *Palāśir Yuddha.* About 4 or 5 miles from Palāśī, we find the tomb of Mir Madan,[1] the General of Siraj-ud-daula.

Ādi-Saptagrāma : The remains of ancient Saptagrāma are found near the present railway station called Ādi-Saptagrāma, about 27 miles from Calcutta. Saptagrāma was an important city and a port. It is so called because the seven sons of king Priyavrata became sages after practising penances there This place is

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[1] The poet describes his death thus :

> *chuṭila ekṭi gōlā raktima varan*
> *viṣam lāgila pāye sei sāmghātik ghāye*
> *bhūtale haila Mir Madan patan* ।

He fell in the battlefield after having received a serious wound in his leg.

frequently mentioned in the mediaeval Bengali texts, e. g. *Caṇḍimaṅgala* of Makundarāma, *Manasāmaṅgala* of Bipradāsa, *Caṇḍī* of Mādhavācārya It is also mentioned in the *Pavanadūtam* written by Dhōyī, the court poet of Lakṣmanasena. It lost its importance as a port owing to the silting of the river-bed of the Sarasvatī. In the 9th century A. D Saptagrāma was ruled by a powerful Buddhist king named Paramabhattāraka Śrī Śrī Rūpnārāyana Sinha The Egyptian traveller, Ibn Batuta, came here in the 13th century A. D. Saptagrāma, the metropolis of Rādha or western Bengal was later conquered by Jafar Khan whose tomb is still found at Trivenī. Many coins of Muslim rulers, e. g, Sher Shah and Husen Shah have been found here. During the rule of Alauddin Husen Shah of Gauda, it was called Husenābād and was the seat of an imperial mint. In the 16th century A. D. a Hindu chief named Rājīvalocana conquered it from Sulaiman, the Sultan of Gauda It is the birth-place of the author of the *Caṇḍī*.[1] We get a glimpse of its prosperity from Bankimcandra's *Kapālakuṇḍalā* and H. P. Shastri's *Bener Meye* It is a sacred place of the Vaisnavas being the home of Uddhārana Datta, a follower of Caitanyadeva Nityānanda, the right-hand-man of Caitanya, spent many years in this locality. A mosque and a few tombs are still found here

Vamsavāṭī: It is in the district of Hooghly where there are three temples of Visnu, Kālī (Svayambhava) & Hamsesvarī (an aspect of Durgā) The temple of Visnu is the oldest. The temple of Hamsesvarī was built in 1814 Close to Vamsavātī there is a sacred abode of Uddhārana Datta, a celebrated Vaisnava disciple of Caitanyadeva It is very much frequented by the Vaiṣṇavas specially on the anniversary day of this religious reformer.

Triveṇī. It is five miles from the present Bandel Junction Station. It is a sacred place of the Hindus, situated at the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Bhāgīrathī. The site is ancient as it is found mentioned in Dhōyī's *Pavanadūta*, a work of the 12th century A D. The Muslim historians call it Tirpāṇi or Firozābād as Firoz Shah, Sultan of Bengal, lived here for sometime. During the Muslim period it was an important city and a

[1] It describes the greatness of Durgā. (*Devīmāhātmya*).

port. The mediaeval Bengali poet Mukundarāma mentions it as a sacred place, much frequented by the pilgrims.[1] It was once a centre of Sanskrit learning. Here we find the tomb of Jafar Khan, the conqueror of Saptagrāma, and close by there is a mosque with the maxims of the *Holy Quoran* written on it The tomb of Jafar Khan was built over a Hindu shrine containing some inscribed scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*

Mahānād: It is in the district of Hooghly and it can be reached by Magra–Tarkeswar Light Railway. It was once the capital of Western Bengal. Mahānād contains the ruins of ancient palaces, old Hindu temples and old tanks. According to tradition it was the seat of king Candraketu, the ruins of whose *gaḍ* (moat) are still found there The temple of Dvāravāsinī, old ponds, e. g, Jiyatkunda, Pāpaharaṇakunda, and Sāt Satīner Dīghi are found here. Near the old Śaiva temple of Jateśvaranātha we find some tombs. The Jāmāi-Jāṅgal Road, the Vaśisthagangā, and the Jiyatkunda are noteworthy.

Pāṇḍuyā It is situated at a distance of 38 miles from Calcutta It is commonly known as Pedo. It is in the Hooghly District and is quite distinct from Pānduyā of the Malda District. In the 15th century A. D. Samsuddin Isuf Shah, king of Gauda, conquered this Hindu kingdom of Pānduyā. It contained many Hindu temples An ancient Hindu temple dedicated to Sun–God was converted into a mosque Besides this place contains damaged mosques and a minar which is 127 ft high. There are two tanks here by the name of Jodāpukur and Pīrpukur. Every year in the months of January and April fairs are held and many people bathe in the Pīrpukur, the water of which is considered to be sacred.

Katwa (Kātadvīpa): It is in the district of Burdwan, and a sacred place of the Vaisnavas because here Caitanyadeva at the age of twenty-four became a hermit and shaved his hair.

Jhāmatpura: Four miles to the north of Katwa there is a village called Jhāmatpura. It was the dwelling place of Kṛsna-

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[1] *Vāmdike Hālisahar dakṣine Triveṇī* ।
yātrīder kolāhale kichui nā śuni ॥

dāsa Kavirāj, the celebrated author of the *Śrī-Caitanya Caritāmṛta.*[1]

Kālnā :— It is in the district of Burdwan and is considered to be a very sacred place to the Hindus because it was the abode of the famous Vaisnava saints, Sūryadāsa, Gauridāsa, Jagannāthadāsa and Bhagavāndāsa It is also famous as Ambikā-Kālnā.

Murshidabad :— It is situated at a distance of 122 miles from Calcutta, on the bank of the River Bhāgīrathī. It was known to the ancients as Mukshudābād or Mukshusābād. It was the capital of the last independent ruler of Bengal. This city was well-built by Nawab Murshidkuli Khan who was then the viceroy (subedar) of Bengal. At one time this city was adorned with many magnificent buildings and palaces. It was an extensive city, populous and prosperous. The following are the noteworthy things there:

(1) *Imāmbārā*, which was built by Nawab-Nazim Mansur Ali, it is 680 ft. long;

(2) *Moti Jhil*, which contains a beautiful garden, it is now in ruins;

(3) *Hājārduyārī*, which was the old palace of the Nawab, a massive structure;

(4) *Katra Musjid.*

(5) *Tomb of Nawab Sharfaraz Khan* who became the Nawab of Murshidābād for one year after the death of Suja Khan;

(6) *Tripolia Gate.*

(7) *Jahankosha Cannon*

(8) *Tōpkhānā*, which was built by Murshidkuli Khan, close to the Katra Musjid; and

(9) *Nizamat-Adalat* and *Sadar Dewani Adalat*; no trace of them is now found, on the ruins of these a beautiful palace with a delightful garden has been built.

On the other side of the Ganges flowing through the town of Berhampore stands the tomb of Nawab Shiraz-ud-daula.

Rāngāmāṭī : It is situated in the District of Murshidabad as distinct from Rāngāmātī of the Chittagong Hill tracts The

[1] It is a famous book of the Vaiṣṇavas of India. It is a monument of Hindu genius as a work on philosophy and literature. Much has been written in this book on Vaiṣṇava philosophy.

site of Rāṅgāmāṭī in Murshidābād lies on the western coast of the Ganges, a mile and a half to the south-east of Chirati, a Railway Station, 94 miles from Bandel. The soil of this place is red and hard and offers clue to the name of this place. According to some the name is derived from *Raktamṛtti* or *Raktabhutti* (*lo-to-wei-chi*) the name of an old Buddhist monastery which the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, found in Karnasuvarna in the 7th century A. D Rāṅgāmāṭī is thus believed to have been the site of Karnasuvarna. Many coins of the Kusāṇa and Gupta ages, a few mounds of bricks and clay called Ṭhākurvādī Dāngā, Rāksusī Dāngā, Rājvādī Dāngā, Samnyāsī Dāngā and a few tanks like Yamunā Puskaraṇī, Pīr Pukur, etc. are found there. A Hindu deity made up of stone with eight hands called Mahisamardinī[1] has been discovered here.

Pāhaḍpura : The ruins of Pāhādpur are situated at a distance of three miles to the west of the Jāmālganj Railway Station (B. & A. Ry.) in the District of Rajshahi. The huge mound of bricks, 80 ft. in height, that stands at Pāhādpur probably gave rise to the name of this place as it looked like a rock. Somapura was its ancient name Situated at a distance of about 30 miles to the northwest of Mahāsthāna or ancient Pundravardhana and southeast of Bāngad or ancient Kotivarsa, there stood an old Buddhist monastery now in ruins The Pāhādpur monastery resembles such great monasteries as Barabudar[2] and Prāmbānam monasteries in Java and Angkorvat monastery[3] in Cambodia. In the Buddhist vihāra at Pāhādpura we find a square sanctuary with many chambers, each having a courtyard in front and a small portico. A high altar is found probably meant for religious worship.

To the east of this sanctuary we find a little *stūpa* (shrine containing a relic, dagoba) called *Satyapīrer bhītā* where we find a temple of Tārā.[4] The Pāhādpura monastery was built in the 8th century A. D. under the Pāla kings of Bengal. The terracotta

[1] Durgā, the killer of the demon Mahiṣa.

[2] Vide The Life of the Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabudur by Dr. Krom.

[3] Vide Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu) by Percy Brown.

[4] Personification of Prajñāpāramitā or perfection of wisdom and consort of Avalokiteśvara, a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva.

plaques on the walls of the monastery contain the tales of the *Pañcatantra*[1] and the *Hitopadeśa*. The stone images of Rādhā and Krsna, some lovely figures telling the stories of the life of Krsna, slaying of Dhenukāsura, holding of Mt. Govardhana by Śrīkrsna are found here. The Epic and Pauranic scenes like the fight of Bāli and Sugrīva, the death of Bāli, the abduction of Subhadrā, etc., are also found. In the 5th century A. D. there was a Jain temple at Pāhādpura The famous Tibetan Buddhist scholar, Dīpankara Śrījñāna,[2] is said to have spent many years under his teacher, Ratnākara Śānti, in the Somapura mahāvihāra.

Khetuḍ: A village in the district of Rajshahi It was visited by Caitanya in the 16th century A. D. A temple has been built here to commemorate his visit.

Mahāsthānagaḍ The present ruins of Mahāsthāna or Mahāsthānagad lie 7 miles north of the modern town of Bogra. Cunningham identifies this site with the ancient city of Pundravardhana, the name of which occurs in a Brahmanic inscription of the Maurya age. During the 4th, 5th and the 6th centuries A. D. when India was ruled by the Imperial Guptas, Pundravardhanabhūkti was a Gupta province under a viceroy who had the title of *Uparika*. The river Karatoyā which still washes the base of the mounds of Mahāsthāna separated it from the more easternly kingdom of Prāgjyotisa or Kāmarūpa in Assam Pundravardhana was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A. D. According to the Chinese pilgrim this country was more than 4000 li in circuit and its capital more than 30 li[3] (5 miles). To the west of the capital there was a magnificent Buddhist establishment and near it stood an Aśoka tope The city lost its importance from the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. for the later Sena kings of Bengal shifted their capital first to Deopārā in the Rajshahi district and later to Gauda in the Maldah district. Towards the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century A. D Pundravardhana was occupied by the Mahommedans.

[1] A collection of moral tales written in Sanskrit from which the Hitopadeśa is partly taken.

[2] Went to Tibet. He belonged to East Bengal. Author of *Caryāgīti* and *Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna-gītikā*, etc.

[3] li-a chinese mile, equal to more than $\frac{1}{3}$rd of an English mile.

There was a village called Vāsu Bihāra, 4 miles to the west of Mahāsthān, which, according to Cunningham, was the site of the well-known monastery called *Po-shi-po*, by the Chinese pilgrim.

The following are the important things found at Mahāsthāna : a battered Jain, statue, ruins of Hindu and Buddhist shrines ; and later tombs and mosques.

Bāngaḍ · The ruins of Bāngaḍ or Bānnagara are found on the eastern bank of the river Punarbhavā, one and a half mile to the north of Gangārāmpur which is 18 miles south of Dinajpur The region round modern Gangārāmpur was called Damdamā during the muslim period and it may be identical with Koṭikapura or ancient Devkot, the capital of Kotivarsa in northern Bengal. Bāngad, according to tradition, was the site of the fortified town of the demon king, Bāna, whose wife Kālārānī is said to have a tank dug called Kaladīghi at Gangārāmpura Besides there are other tanks such as Tāldīghi and Dhalādīghi. Of the ancient buildings and monuments we have no trace at present. A Kamboja king of Gauda built a temple of Siva. According to the copper plate inscription of king Mahīpāla I discovered at Bāngad, Mahīpāla regained his lost paternal kingdom Some of the old relics of Bāngad are now kept in the Dinajpur palace Here we find a richly carved stone pillar made of touch-stone, a Siva temple and a Buddhist caitya (shrine or temple) of about the 11th century A. D.

Tarpanghāt : An important village in the district of Dinajpur. Here Vālmīki, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyana* practised penances. Near by there is a brick built *stūpa* known as Sītākot which is said to have been the abode of Sītā, the banished wife of Rāmacandra

Gauḍa : Gauda was the capital of Bengal during the Hindu and Muslim periods. According to some the name is derived from *guḍa*, i. e., molasses as Gauda was formerly a trading centre of molasses. The ruins of Gauda lie at a distance of ten miles to the south west of the modern town of Malda. It was an ancient town as its name occurs in the Epics and the Purānas. It was the capital of Devapāla, Mahendrapāla, Ādisura, Ballālasena and the Mahomedan rulers up to about the end of the

16th century A. D It formed a part of the kingdom of the Imperial Guptas during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A. D. There is no trace at present of Ramāvatī, the capital of ancient Gauda under Pāla rulers. It lay several miles to the north of the present site of the ruins of Gauda near the river Kālindī. Lakṣmaṇāvatī or Laknauti which was built by king Lakṣmaṇasena was the later capital of Gauda under Sena and Muslim rulers. King Ballālasena built a castle at Gauda which goes by the name of Ballālabādī or Ballālabhitā. The ruins of this fort are found at Shahdullapur. One of the biggest tanks in Bengal known as Sāgardīghi is attributed to him Near the present site of Gauda stands the ancient village of Rāmakeli which was visited by Caitanyadeva. The abodes of Rūpa and Sanātana,[1] the Rūpasāgara tank, the Kadamba tree, some wells known as Rādhākunda, Śyāmakunda, Lalitākunda and Viśākhākunda and the ancient temple of Madanamohana are now found there. There is another village called Khalimpur near the site of Gauda. A copper plate inscription of king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has been discovered here. The following relics of the Muslim age are noteworthy :—

1 *Jān Jān meah mosque* built by Sultan Giyasuddin Mahmud Shah.

2 *The Dākhil Durwājā* or the gate of the ancient muslim fort of Gauda.

3 *The well-known Sonā mosque* (*Barduāri*) – a square building built of stone

4 *Ruins of Hāveli Khās* (or the ancient capital)

5 *Tomb of Sultan Husain Shah* built of coloured bricks.

6 *Feroze minar* (high and massive structure).

7 *Kadam Rasul mosque* built by Sultan Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah in the 16th century A D containing 4 minarets of black stone and footprints of the Prophet

8 *Chikā mosque*

9 *The famous Loton mosque* built of various coloured bricks (white, green, blue and yellow).

[1] They were the disciples of Caitanya who were sent by him to preach the cult of loving faith to Brindaban to discover the holy places where Śrī Kṛṣṇa engaged himself in *līlā* or sports.

Besides these there are other noteworthy objects, e. g., the temples of Gaudeśvarī, Jahārāvāsinī, Śiva – the manaskāmanā deity,[1] Ramābhītā and Pātālacandī.

Pāṇḍuyā: The ruins of Pānduyā lie to the east of the river Mahānandā in the district of Malda. A clear trace of Hindu relics is found at Pānduyā in a dilapidated culvert with images of Hindu deities beneath it Many remains of the Muslim age are found at this site, e g , *Selāmi–Dargā*, *Āsānsāhi Dargā*, *Baisk-Hāzāri Dargā*, *Eklakkhi* and *Sonā mosques*, and the *Ādinā mosque* which is the most famous

Vikrampura: It lies in the Munshiganj sub-division of Dacca A portion of it is included in the Faridpur District. The name Vikrampura is generally applied to the tract of country bounded by the Dhaleśvarī on the north, the Idilpur parganā on the south, the Meghnā on the east and the Padmā on the west. The name of this place is derived from a king named Vikrama who ruled it for sometime. Rāmapāla, the ancient capital of Vikramapura, lay 3 miles west of Munshiganj. The name Śrī Vikramapura occurs in the Sītāhātī Copper Plate Inscription of Ballālasena. A copper plate inscription of the Buddhist king Śrī Candradeva of the Candra dynasty has been discovered here. Rāmapāla, the birth place of Śīlabhadra, the principal of the famous Buddhist University of Nālandā, was the eastern headquarters of the Hindu kings of Bengal for sometime. The ruins of a palace called Ballālabādī, many ancient ponds called Rāmapāladīghi, Ballāla dīghi, etc and many Hindu and Buddhist deities of the Pāla period have been found at Vikramapura To the north of Rāma-pāla in a village a mosque of Ādam Śahīd is found The village of Vajrayoginī lying on the south west corner of Rāmapāla was the birth place of the Buddhist savant, Dīpankara Śrījñāna, who was born in the 10th century A. D.

Mainamati and Lālmāi ranges Mainamati is about 6 miles west of the present town of Comilla The Lālmāi and Mainamati rocks are situated in the district of Tippera in East Bengal. The name Mainamati is probably associated with Mayanāmatī, the queen of Mānik Candra, a king of the Candras who ruled Bengal

[1] The deity who fulfils human desires.

in the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. This queen and her son Gopicandra figure largely in Bengali folk-songs. Queen Mayanāmatī seems to have been a disciple of Goraknātha, a great Śaiva yogī while her son was a disciple of a low caste *siddha* (perfected one). A copper plate inscription of the 13th century A. D. found at Maināmāti records gift of a piece of land by the king Ranavankamalla Harikāladeva to a Buddhist monastery at Paṭṭikera. An officer of the royal groom is mentioned as embracing Sahajayāna Buddhism [1] at Paṭṭikeraka A village of the Tippera district which extends up to the Maināmāti hills even now retains the name Pātikārā or Paitkārā The existence of the kingdom of Paṭṭikera may be traced as far back as the 8th century A. D. It was situated in ancient Samatata Coins similar to those of the Candra dynasty and terracotta plaques, with figures of Arakanese and Burmese men and women, have been found at Maināmāti In these coins the name of Patikera occurs. It appears that there was an intimate relation between Burma and the kingdom of Pattikera. Ranavankamalla Harikāladeva was a chieftain of this place while the Devas were then the independent rulers. The Pattikeraka vihāra of the Pāla period was an important monastery A mound at Maināmātī known as the ruins of Ānanda Rājā's palace seems to be a monastery. Some rulers of the Candra dynasty, e g, Srī Candra, Gobinda Candra, Suvarna Candra, Pūrna Candra, etc, mentioned in the inscriptions ruled eastern and southern Bengal between A D. 900 and 1050 with Rohitāgiri as their capital. Rohitāgirī probably included the present Lālmāi hills, 5 miles to the west of Comilla

The naked-stone image of a Jaina *Tīrthankara* (head of a sect) found at Maināmāti, shows the influence of Jainism in this region. The discovery of such deities as Ganeśa, Hara-Gaurī,

[1] The Sahajayāna better Sahajasiddhi was the latest phase of Buddhism in eastern India It arose as a protest against unnecessary rituals, excessive academic zeal, the *tantras*, *mantras*, *yantras*, *mandalas* and other paraphernalia of the two earlier forms of Mahāyāna, namely the *Bodhisattva naya* (the classical) and the *Agranaya* (the advanced). It advocated Sahajasiddhi as the quickest and the surest way of awakening in us the *Bodhicitta* which is the means of attaining *Bodhi* or enlightenment. Bengali songs of the Sahajiyā School, *Bauddha Gān o Dōhā* by H. P. Shāstrī.

Vāsudeva, shows the influence of Hinduism there. Of some mounds situated at Maināmāti Ānandarājā's palace, Bhojarājā's palace, Candīmurā, Rūpabānmurā, Sālbanrājā's palace are noteworthy. In one of these mounds we find temples of Śiva and Candī. A square monastery like that at Pāhādpura existed there The central temple contains on its walls projecting mouldings, lotus petals, etc. Many carved terracotta plagues which contain the figures of *Yakkhaś*,[1] *Kiṃpurusas*,[2] *Gandharvas*,[3] *Vidyādharas*,[4] *Kiṇnaras*, *Buddha*, *Padmapāṇi*, warriors, animals, lotus flowers, etc. have been discovered. The potteries found there are mostly in ruins. Some small bronze images of the Buddha have also been found.

Candranātha. In the vicinity of Sītākunda there are the famous temples of Candranātha and Sambhunātha, in the district of Chittagong, which are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Bengal. The peak of Candranātha is regarded as a place beloved of Siva. The shrine on the top of the hill contains a *liṅgam* or symbolical representation of Śiva and the ascent to it is said to redeem the pilgrim from the miseries of future births. The largest gathering takes place at the *Śiva Caturdaśī* festival.

Sundarban: The forest region of Sundarban was formerly included in the kingdom of Samatata or Bāgdī (Vyāghratatī). The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, saw many Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples at Samatata in the 7th century A. D but no trace of them has yet been found. Some decorated bricks, fragments of stone sculptures, coins of Skandagupta and Huviska, an image of Sūrya and a Navagraha slab, etc., have been discovered here.

[1] They are supernatural beings, deities of varying ranks. They are benevolent and are closely connected with vegetation, human fertility and wealth. They are essentially tree-spirits and they possess magic power. The cult of Yakkhas may be described as an early form of devotional Hinduism, perhaps going back to a period in history contemporary with the Vedas. The individual Yekkhas are for the most part local and tutelary deities.

[2] Wild men of the woods same as *Kinnaras*.

[3] A class of Demigods, heavenly Musicians.

[4] Demigods who are magicians.

AN UNNOTICED ASPECT OF GAUḌAPĀDA'S MĀṆḌŪKYA KĀRIKĀS

BY

P T. Raju

There have already been many articles on Gauḍapāda and his *Kārikās*; but all of them have been occupied either with proving that he was a Buddhist, or that he was a vedantin who was greatly influenced by Buddhist ideas, which he incorporated into the Vedānta, or that neither was he a Buddhist nor was he influenced by Buddhist ideas. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri practically maintained the extreme position that Gauḍapāda wrote the last chapter of his *Kārikās* to develop the Upanisadic theory into the Buddhist *Vijñānavāda*, thereby showing the superiority of the latter to the former.[1] Of course, it may easily be shown that Gauḍapāda was not a Buddhist, that the *Kārikās*, or even the fourth chapter was not meant to show the superiority of the *Vijñānavāda* to the Vedānta. Even the fourth chapter praises *Vipras*[2] or Brahmans and speaks of *brahmaṇyam padam*[3] It is true that Buddha very often spoke of the Brahmans with respect and that Asanga, the author of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*, spoke of the realisation of the Brahman as the highest achievement. But this only proves the influence of the Vedānta on Buddhism, that some of the Upanisadic ideas were securing a place in Buddhist thought. If Gauḍapāda had really been a Buddhist and wanted to show that the *Vijñānavāda* was truer than the Vedānta, he would not have used Vedantic terms. Besides, the word *Aja*, which Gauḍapāda so glorifies, is, though it means *anutpanna*, particularly a Vedantic term. Just as it is said that Śaṁkara explains away the term *buddha*, it may be said that the Buddhist interpretation of the *Kārikās* will have to explain away *Aja*. Further, it is not reasonable to take the

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[1] *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, 1922

[2] Stanza 86. [3] Stanza 85.

fourth chapter apart from the other three chapters. And if Gaudapāda defends the Vedānta in the latter, he must be doing the same in the former And there is no evidence to show that he changed his mind later after writing the first three chapters or that he meant the first three chapters to be only stepping stones for proving the final validity of the *Vijñānavāda*.

But we cannot so easily controvert the opinion that Gauḍapāda was greatly influenced by the *Vijñānavāda*. It may be shown that the word *vijñāna*, even in the sense of the highest reality, is common to both the Upaniṣads [1] and Buddhism, though, in the former, *vijñāna* is more often used with reference to *vijñānamayakośa* and *buddhi*. But there are many other words which are distinctly technical (*pāribhāṣika*) terms of Buddhist philosophy *Dharma* in the sense of a phenomenal thing, [2] *bhāva* in the sense of a perishable thing, [3] *dhātu* in the sense of *vastu*, [4] *buddha* in the sense of awakened, cannot easily be explained away as non-Buddhistic also. Particularly the words *buddha* and *dharma* in the peculiarly Buddhistic sense occur too often. There are other words also like *samvṛti satya*, [5] *samghāta*, [6] *alātaśānti*, which is the heading of the fourth chapter, *asparśayoga*, [7] and *lakṣaṇāśūnyam*, [8] which are common to the Advaita also. And it may be admitted that the sentence, *naitadbuddhena bhāṣitam*, [9] can be interpreted both according to the Advaita and the *Vijñānavāda*. But on the whole, the influence of the *Vijñānavāda* is very obvious. Also, it is likely that Gaudapāda was converted to Buddhism first or might have been a born Buddhist before he accepted Vedantism and gave it his own interpretation There is also another possibility, which we shall have to accept in the absence of any definite evidence in favour of other possibilities, namely, there must have been a ferment of ideas both in the Buddhist and Vedantic folds, due to mutual criticism and discussion, and what appeared to be the

[1] *Māṇḍūkya Kārikās*, IV, 45. 48, 50, etc., *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III, 9, 28 *vijñānamānandam brahma*. Also cp. III, 4, 2 *vijñātervijñātāram* but not merely *vijñāturvijñātāram*

[2] IV, 6, 8, 10, 21, 46, 53, etc., etc. [3] II, 1. 13, 16, 19. [4] IV. 81.
[5] II, 1, 4 ; IV, 33, 57, 73, 74. [6] III, 3, 10. [7] III, 39 ; IV, 2.
[8] IV, 67. [9] IV, 99.

most cogent ideas might have been incorporated, with slight differences, by both schools. But in the development of metaphysical systems, so far as available literature goes, Buddhism seems to have taken the lead. The *Prajñāpāramitās*, out of which both the Madhyamika and the Vijñānavāda schools sprung up, are earlier than Nāgārjuna (2nd century A D.) But the *Prajñāpāramitās* themselves must have developed out of ideas borrowed from the Upanisads The Buddhists must have entered into controversies with the Vedantins during and before the time of the *Prajñāpāramitās*, after which the former must have brought together the results of the controversies in a somewhat systematic form And as shown by Bādarāyana's references to earlier Vedantins, the Upanisadic ideas also must have been grouped together in some systematic form by Kasakrtsna and others But these are lost for us, and were lost probably even for Gaudapāda, who makes no reference to them The *Brahmasūtras* themselves required interpretation and systematisation And Gaudapāda, therefore, must have approached the Upanisads themselves from the side of the *Vijñānavāda*, which might have appeared as the best metaphysical system of the time, nearest to the Upanisadic teachings The *Māṇḍūkya* contains the central teaching of the Upanisads and constitute the inner approach to the philosophical problem for all orthodox systems. Gaudapāda therefore must have attempted to interpret the *Māṇḍūkya* itself from the side of the *Vijñānavāda*, which was incorporated into the Vedānta.

II

What has so far been discussed has been noticed by a number of scholars, and the discussion is briefly given here only so far as it concerns the purpose of the present paper Now, there is anothor aspect of the *Kārikās*, which seems to have escaped notice so far. The ferment of philosophic ideas of the age must have contained not only the Upanisadic and Buddhist ideas but also the Śaivite. It is difficult to say that the Śaivite ideas are not Upanisadic; but they have a peculiar quality or colour of their own. They have their own terminology. That the world is the *spanda* of Śiva or Śiva's Śakti is a theory peculiar to Śaivism.

Gaudapāda uses the word *spanda* in as many as six stanzas.[1] At one place he speaks of the world as the *spanda* of *manas*,[2] at another as the *spanda* of *citta*,[3] and in three places as *vijñāna-spanda*,[4] and compares all these to *alātaspanda*.[5] Manas and *citta* may be taken to mean the same for the *Kārikās* Then the world has to be understood as the *spanda* of *vijñāna* or *citta*, so far as the teaching of the *Kārikās* is concerned Gaudapāda uses the word *Māyā* more than once .[6] but he does not speak of the *spanda* of *Māyā*. And for him, *Māyā* is not existent.[7] Anyway, he must have meant that *cittaspanda* and *vijñānaspanda* are the same, though not directly at least indirectly. He asserts also that the *spanda* and its effects cannot enter *vijñana*, which is *acala*[8] (We may indeed raise the question how *vijñāna*, which is *acala*, can have any *spanda* · to which we cannot find a direct answer, or the only answer possible, consistent with the *ajātivāda*, is that even the *spanda* of *vijñāna* is *Māyā*, which is not *sat* (*na vidyate*) Vidyāraṇya probably would have said that this *spanda* is the *śakti* of *vijñāna*, and that *spanda* has no existence means that it is not a separate entity from *vijñāna*[9] It is not necessary now to go farther into this ultimate logical question; we are interested only in showing that Gaudapāda uses the word *spanda* in a very significant sense Just as we see straight lines, curved lines, circles etc, so long as there is *alātaspanda*, we see the world so long as there is *vijñānaspanda*. And just as, when the *spanda* of the *alāta* ceases, these figures do not enter the *alāta*; when the *spanda* of *vijñāna* ceases, the world of forms due to that *spanda* does not enter *vijñāna*. That is, *vijñāna* as such is pure · it is *vijñānamātra*.[10]

III

Such a significant usage of the concept of *spanda* makes us think that Gaudapāda was influenced not only by the ideas of the *Vijñānavāda* but also by the *spanda* doctrine. The question may now be raised whether this *spanda* doctrine was incorporated

[1] III, 29, IV, 47, 48, 49, 51, 72. [2] III, 29 [3] IV, 72.

[4] IV, 47, 48, 51 [5] IV, 49 [6] II, 19, IV, 58 [7] IV, 58.

[8] IV, 51, 52. [9] See *Pañcadaśī*, II, 47

[10] Cf Samkara's Commentary on *Kārikā*, IV, 52. *Vijñānamātre jātyādibuddhirmṛṣaiva.*

from Śaivism or from some other independent system, for it is not to be found in the principal Upaniṣads. Even the *Śvetāśvatara*, which is Śaivite, does not speak of *spanda*, though it speaks of *Māyā*. And we have no evidence to prove the existence of a non-Saivite *spanda* system. If we therefore take it as belonging to Śaivism, we may further ask whether it is the same as the Kasmir *spanda* system expounded by Vasugupta and his followers. We know that Gauḍapāda is earlier than Vasugupta, who belonged to about the first half of the 9th century A. D. Even Śaṃkara, the grand disciple of Gauḍapāda, belonged to the 8th century A. D. Gauḍapāda therefore cannot be much later than the 7th. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in his *Indian Philosophy*, writes: "He must be much earlier, since Walleser states that the *Kārikā* is quoted in the Tibetan translation of Bhavaviveka's *Tarkajvālā*. The latter author is earlier than Yuan Chwang, and Gauḍapāda must be therefore about A. D. 550 [1]." If this is true, then Gauḍapāda must have lived about one and half centuries after Asaṅga, the famous *vijñānavādin* and the author of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. In any case, he is undoubtedly earlier than Vasugupta, the first well-known exponent of the *spanda* doctrine.

We have therefore to think that the *spanda* doctrine must have been current, in some form or other, during the time of Gauḍapāda. And this *spanda* doctrine has very close resemblance to that expounded by Vasugupta. The ultimate *tattva* for Gauḍapāda is *vijñāna*, and for Vasugupta, is Śiva whose nature is *jñāna*. Even the original Upaniṣad speaks of the fourth state as Śiva, which of course need not be identified with the Śiva of Śaivism, and Gauḍapāda also speaks of the *ātman* as Śiva,[2] *Prabhu*, *Īśāna*, *Īśvara* and so forth. Just as the *Māṇḍūkyakārikās* are based on the interpretation of the three states of wakefulness, dream and deep sleep, the *Spandakārikās* are based on their interpretation,[3] the only difference being that the former maintain that the fourth state (*turīyāvasthā*) is identical with Śiva, while the latter contend that there is a fourth state beyond the three, which is still *mohātmikā*,[4] and that only in the fifth state can we be identical

[1] Vol II, p. 452 footnote [2] I, 29. [3] I, 2, 14, II, 1, 2 etc.

[4] See the *Vivṛti* of Rāmakaṇṭha, II, 9.

with Śiva. Both are thus based on the explanation of the three states Even the *Māṇḍūkyakārikās* speak of *bījanidrā* or sleep which is the matrix of the world [1] It is well known that, according to Saivism, *Māyāśakti*, out of which the world issues forth, is the *Nidrā* of Śiva. The *Spandakārikās* speak of Śiva as *anāvṛta*,[2] which is the same as *asaṁvṛta*. The *Māṇḍūkyakārikās* also speak of *saṁvṛti*.[3] The idea of *saṁvṛtisatya* is innately connected with these ideas One feels that the *āvaraṇaśakti* is the same as this *saṁvaraṇa* or *saṁvṛti* and the *vikṣepaśakti* the same as *spanda* Or these ideas might have some common root ideas. Very likely, there were some common ideas belonging to the philosophical atmosphere of the time, and they gradually developed and took some definite shapes in the different systems. However, Gauḍapāda speaks of *icchāmātram prabhossṛṣṭi*[4] as not a very tenable view, and is perhaps refuting the theory that the world is due to the *icchāśakti* of Śiva And we can understand him, because he is interested in proving that *Māyā* is not *sat*, whereas those that maintain that the world is a *pariṇāma* of Siva's Sakti, hold that it is *sat*. But we cannot clinch this point, because Abhinavagupta, who belongs to the same Kasmir school of Śaivism, writes

> *Saṁsārosti na tattvatastanubhṛtām bandhasya vārtaiva kā*
> *bandho yasya na jātu tasya vitathā muktasya muktikriyā*
> *mithyāmohakṛdeṣa rajjubhujagacchāyāpiśācabhramo*
> *mā kiñcityaja mā gṛhāṇa vilasa svastho yathāvasthitaḥ*[5]

and practically supports Gauḍapāda every way. For this stanza involves *ajātivāda*, the view that the world is not existent, and that it is *bhrama* (*māyā*) The *Spandakārikās* describe the fourth stage as a great *ākāśa* (*mahāvyoman*), which though devoid of the duality of subject and object, is yet *mohātmikā* and *āvṛtā*, because of the absence of *īśvarāśaktipāta*[6] But as there is no such fourth state in the *Māṇḍūkya*, the highest itself is compared to pure *ākāśa* Such comparison is very common in both the Upaniṣads and Buddhist works, and is not peculiar to any. But an important point to note in this connection is that the fourth state of

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[1] I, 13 [2] I, 2. [3] II, 1, 4, IV, 33, 57, 73, 74. [4] I, 8.
[5] *Anuttarāṣṭikā*, [6] See Ramakantha's Comm. on II, 9.

the *Spandakārikās* is generally equated by the Kaśmir Śaivites to the *Śūnya* of the Mādhyamikas, whose highest truth is thereby shown to be lower than that of the *spanda* system.[1] This shows that Kaśmir Śaivism tried, in a way slightly different from that of Gaudapāda, to incorporate some of the important ideas of Buddhism Or perhaps while Gaudapāda tried to absorb *vijñānavāda*, the *spanda* system of Kaśmir tried to absorb both *vijñānavāda* and *śūnyavāda*

The point of our present interest is that Gaudapāda incorporated the *spanda* doctrine into his philosophy, and this *spanda* doctrine significantly resembles the *spanda* doctrine of Kaśmir, which was much later. It is believed by some that the Kaśmir Śaivādvaita sprung up after Śamkara's visit to Kaśmir in the 8th century[2] But the *Māṇḍūkyakārikās* show that the *spanda* ideas must have been current in India at least a century before Śamkara. Hence it cannot be true that the *spanda* ideas took shape only after Śamkara. But the earlier Śaiva teachers of Kaśmir, influenced by the Advaita of Samkara might have imported *spanda* ideas from outside. But the greatest possiblity is that they entered Kaśmir, if they entered from outside at all, along with Śamkara, who must have inherited the teachings of the *Māṇḍūkyakārikās* from his *paramaguru*, Gaudapāda If such is the truth, then the *spanda* system, though it developed in Kaśmir, might have originated outside Kaśmir And the ideas must have been current in the country to which Gaudapāda belonged

It is said that the family cult of Samkara was Saktism and that he was worshipping Siva[3] So both Śaivism and Saktism must be existing throughout India by that time and also by the time of Gaudapāda. We read that Lakuli, the founder of Pasupata, belonged to the 1st century A. D., and that all the sects of Śaivism originated from his teachings And Gaudapāda's teaching shows that the *spanda* doctrine must have been existent in

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[1] Abhinavagupta's *Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī*, Vol. II, p 234. Interestingly enough, K M Sen points out that *śūnya* stands for the highest truth in a number of Śaiva and Sakta tantras See his "Conception and Development of the Śūnya Doctrine in Medieval India", *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, 1933.

[2] K. C Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, p 91

[3] Sir S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 418,

the 7th century, if not in the 6th or even earlier. The period from the 1st century A. D right up to about the 7th must have been an age of intense philosophical activity in India, when there must have been a great ferment of ideas and attempts at system making The *Prajñāpāramitās*, which are earlier than Nāgārjuna, must be assigned at least the 1st century A D. The *Sūtras* of Vyāsa, Kaṇāda and Gautama must have belonged to about the 2nd and the 3rd centuries.[1] From about the 2nd onward, Mahāyāna systems were developing, though the Mahāyāna itself might have been formed earlier. The Mahāyāna systems must have been giving a great impetus to the development of metaphysical systems in the orthodox fold. Through mutual criticism and borrowing, the current schools were developing their systems, and making them more and more adequate to a common fund of innate spiritual experiences. Śaivism also must have developed its *spanda* doctrines to an appreciable extent even by the time of Gaudapāda. The fact that Gaudapāda, though later than Bādarāyana, makes no reference to his *Sūtras*, indicates that he thought out his system independently and constructed it with elements from the Upaniṣads, the *Vijñānavāda* and the *spanda* doctrine. And perceiving that the origin of most of these ideas could be traced to the Upaniṣads and the rest developed out of them, he professed to be a *smārta*. But later, his disciples and their disciples might have noticed the kinship of his ideas to earlier *advaita* and brought his ideas into relationship with the *Brahmasūtras* That Gaudapāda developed his theories independently of the *Brahmasūtras* and in consonance with the Upaniṣads may be one of the reasons why Śaṁkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Sūtras* appears to be more in agreement with the Upaniṣads than with the *Sūtras*. Gaudapāda himself must have known these famous *Sūtras*, but somehow he ignored them.

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[1] There are some who say that all these are much earlier. In any case, the period must have been one of mutual influence and ferment of ideas, particularly due to the growth of Buddhism, which was heterodox and yet was developing good logic and metaphysics.

The conclusion of this discussion is obvious: Gaudapāda was a *smārta* Vedantin and not a Buddhist. He utilised not only the ideas of the *Vijñānavāda* but also of *spanda*, which must have been current by his time The *spanda* doctrine could not have originated in Kaśmir as late as the 8th or the 9th century, but must be earlier and must have belonged at least to the country where Gaudapāda was living. (Or was Gaudapāda himself the originator of that doctrine?) The Buddhist metaphysics was overwhelmed not only by the Vedānta but also by Śaivism, both of which incorporated the Mahāyāna ideas And each of the three was borrowing not only metaphysical ideas but also spiritual experiences from the other two There might also have been a fund of spiritual experience common to all, which none was able to deny in controversies.

NOTES ON A FEW WORDS

BY

BIMALACHARAN DEB

I

The student of Sanskrit is set an interesting problem when he finds two or more words, which he had been told were synonymous, used in one single passage. It is only natural that he thinks they are not really synonymous as he had been told, and that there must be some distinction between them so as to justify their juxtaposition, and this starts him on an enquiry.

The enquiry thus started is often a baffling one. He finds that, either there is no commentary available, or, if there is one, it reminds him of the well-known gibe दुर्बोधं यदतीव &c. Moreover, he finds that the farther a commentator (or lexicographer) is away in point of time from the book in relation to which information is sought, the more likely he is to be uncertain or mistaken as to the meanings of words, and sometimes the wrong explanation is due to obsession of class interests or to ignorance of the particular branch of knowledge regarding which he is giving information. I shall have occasion to illustrate these points by citing actual cases as I go on. The kośas, and modern Dictionaries and commentaries (which, more often than not, rely very much on the kośas), are, accordingly, sometimes disappointing and sometimes positively confusing.

Another difficulty which confronts the student is लिपिकरप्रमाद. And the position is rendered extremely difficult indeed when an inadvertent (or incompetent) editor perpetuates it in print, and the error, almost as a matter of course, finds its way into a Dictionary. I shall here give one of the instances which have come to my notice.

Mahābhārata 4. 4. 26 (C. P.) reads in the text नाहमस्य प्रियोऽस्मीति मत्वा सेवेत पण्डितः; and in the Nīlakantha tīkā पण्डित' सिल्हके कवौ इति विश्व'; Medinī (Calcutta, 1869) also reads पण्डित' सिल्हके कवौ.

That made me think (apart from its being incongruous in the context), even supposing पंडित may be synonymous with कवि, how does सिल्हक (which is a balsam or gum) come in? Looking up पंडित in Apte, I find one of the meanings given there is "incense". Monier Williams also gives the same meaning, "incense, L".—"L" meaning "lexicographer", i. e, giving as his authority some lexicographer, whom, however, he does not name, (a very unsatisfactory practice with M. W.), but it seems practically certain that he is referring to Viśva or Medinī or both Thereafter I look up Śabdakalpadruma and find, s v. सिल्हक, two of its synonyms कपि (and not कवि), and पिंडात (not पंडित). That explains it—पिंडात सिल्हके कपौ has become पंडित· सिल्हके कवौ But this error has gone into Apte and Monier Williams. One would hesitate to object if Apte and Monier Williams are cited as authorities on the point

So much on the negative side

On the positive side, I have learnt from all this the deep truth of the sayings नैकपदानि निर्ब्रूयात् (Nirukta 2. 3 4) and ग्रंथो हि ग्रंथांतरस्य टीका and of that śloka in Suśruta Samhitā, 1 4 6 —

एकं शास्त्रमधीयानो न विद्याच्छास्त्रनिश्चयम् ।
तस्माद् बहुश्रुतः शास्त्रं विजानीयाच्चिकित्सकः ॥

That is to say, Remember the context always,—and, Cast your net wide if you are really anxious to know the correct meaning of a word.

With these words, I would set down what I have found about certain words —

I वसा, मेदस्.

We find वसा and मेदस् mentioned together in वसामेदोवहा कुल्या नागानां संप्रवर्तिता Mb 1 53 12 (CP)=1, 48, 12 (B. O. R I.) वसामेदोवहा कुल्यास्तत्र पीत्वा च पावक । जगाम परमां तृप्तिं दर्शयामास चाऽर्जुनम् ॥ Mb 1, 231. 6 (CP)=1 225 6 (B O. R I.).

Bhīma's गदा is described as वसामेदोपदिग्धांगीम् Mb 9. 11. 52 (CP).

What is the distinction between वसा and मेदस्? Nīlakaṇṭha does not say anything at any of these places

Let us see, first, what lexicographers say :—

Amarakośa, 2 6 64 says बुक्काग्रमांस हृदयं हृन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा This passage has been read in two different ways.— (1) बुक्काग्रमांस हृदयं हृत, मेदस्तु वपा वसा This is the reading of Maheśvara in his tīkā to Amarakośa. (2) बुक्काग्रमांसं हृदयं, हृन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा This is the reading evidently adopted by Śabdakalpadruma, because, in explaining वपा, it says सा च हृदयस्थधातु. (see s v. वपा) Gangādhara Kavirāja, a renowned vaidya of Bengal, in his tīkā to Caraka Samhitā (published Samvat 1925–1937), called 'Jalpakalpataru', definitely adopts this reading हृन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा

Leaving aside the first portion as not material for our present purpose, my view is that both the readings of the latter portion (मेदस्तु वपा वसा and हृन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा) are wrong This is not surprising Amara Simha, a Jain, cannot be expected to know much about मेदस or वपा or वसा [It may seem presumptuous on my part to say that Amarakośa is wrong here, but I shall go further and say that this is not the only place where I have found it to be wrong I shall show at the proper time and place where it is wrong and why As regards a famous commentator also, I think he is wrong on a certain point and for a similar reason This also I shall state at the proper time and place].

Apte says, s. v. मेदस्, n.—" 1. Fat, marrow (one of the seven dhātus of the body and supposed to lie in the abdomen) M. S. 3. 182, Y. 1. 44 ; 2. Corpulence, fat of the body "

That Apte is wrong in saying " marrow " is beyond question ; marrow is मज्जा His " fat of the body " is much wider than the fat " supposed to lie in the abdomen ", and this latter is also vague.

Monier Williams gives as one of the meanings of मेदस् n., " Fat, marrow, lymph (as one of the 7 dhātus, q v. ; its proper seat is said to be the abdomen) ".

Monier Williams is similarly wrong in saying " marrow " ; and " lymph " seems unjustified He also limits it to the abdomen.

Now, let us see how the matter stands so far as प्रयोग is concerned, i. e., how the words in question are used in literature It is good to remember the maxim प्रयोगशरणा वैयाकरणाः.

Manu, 3. 182, mentions मेदस्, but unfortunately **Medhātithi** does not explain it nor does Kullūka. Bühler (S. B. E.), however, translates it as "adipose secretions"

Yājñavalkya Smrti, 1. 44, mentions मेदस्, but Mitākṣarā does not explain it. Yāj Sm., 3, 94, mentions वपावसावहननम् Here Mitākṣarā says वपा प्रसिद्धा वसा मांसस्नेह . We keep aside वपा for the present According to Mitākṣarā, then, वसा is the fat in the flesh, i e, the adipose tissue

Devanna Bhatta, in his Smrticandrikā (ed. Gharpure), Part III, p. 135, l 18, quotes वसामेदोमज्ज दीपम् and explains—वसा पाकादिना विभक्तो मांसस्नेहः । मेदो हृदयकमलाच्छादकादिमांसविशेष. पाकादिना विभक्तः । तदीयस्नेहोऽत्र मेदःशब्देन लक्ष्यते । Thus according to Smr Ca., both वसा and मेदस् are found in the body, and both are procured by 'cooking'. There is, however, this distinction between the two,—the former is 'the fat in the flesh', i. e, adipose tissue (मांसस्नेह), and the latter is 'the fat in the covering of the heart' (pericardium).

Devanna Bhatta's explanation of वसा seems to gain support from Sāyana in his Commentary to Taitt. Sam 1 3 10 1, where he says मांसपाकभांडे स्थितः स्नेहात्मको द्रवविशेषो वसा.

Now let us look to medical works, which ought to be more definite on the point in question than the class of books just referred to.

We find Caraka Samhitā, 4 6 12, saying तस्मान्मांसमाप्याय्यते मांसेन...मेदो मेदसा, वसा वसया and further saying at 4. 7. 17, when describing the components of a body and their quantities, त्रयो वसायाः, द्वौ मेदसः, एको मज्ज्ञः.

So, according to Ca. Sam., वसा and मेदस् are different from each other.

But, Ca Sam., at 1. 25 22-30, in discussing the nutritive properties of certain foods, says लोहितशालयः शूकधान्यानां पथ्यतमत्वे श्रेष्ठतमा भवंति...वराहवसा आनूपमृगवसानां, चुलुकीवसा मत्स्यवसानां, हंसवसा जलचरविहंगवसानाम् । कुक्कुटवसा विष्किरशकुनिवसानाम्, अजामेदः शाखादमेदसाम् । ...... अहिततमानामुपदेक्ष्यामः......महिषवसा आनूपमृगवसानाम्, कुंभीरवसा मत्स्यवसानाम्, काकमद्गुवसा जलचरविहंगवसानाम् । चटकवसा विष्किरशकुनिवसानाम्, हस्तिमेदः शाखादमेदसाम् ।

This latter passage seems to disturb the above statements in the same book (4, 6, 12 , 4, 7, 17) which clearly treat वसा and मेदस् as two different things. Any way, we are not told by Ca Sam, exactly what वसा and मेदस् are or is.

Ca Sam is a 'Physician's Handbook'. Let us see Susruta Samhitā, which is a "Surgeon's Handbook" and ought to tell more about it.

Suśruta Samhitā, 3, 4, 11-13, says मेदो हि सर्वभूतानाम् उदरस्थम् अण्वस्थिषु च महत्सु मज्जा भवति। भवति चाऽत्र-स्थूलमास्थिषु विशेषेण मज्जा त्वभ्यंतराश्रिताः । अथेतरेषु सर्वेषु सरक्तं मेद उच्यते। शुद्धमांसस्य यः स्नेहः सा वसा परिकीर्तिता ॥

So,—मज्जा (marrow) is the "fat" in the big bones.

मेदस् is the "fat" *in* the abdomen (i e., inside the abdominal cavity, meaning the omentum and the abdominal viscera in general) and in the smaller bones.

वसा is the "fat," in the flesh, i. e, adipose tissue (excluding, of course, the abdominal viscera).

Accordingly,—मेदस् and वसा are both "fat", but of different kinds altogether.

In these circumstances, Amarakośa must be wrong in so far as it makes वसा synonymous with मेदस्. Similarly, Smr Ca must be wrong in so far as it says that मेदस् is the fat in the pericardium. The reading of Amarakośa adopted by Śabdakalpadruma and by Gangādhara (हृन्मेदस्तु वपा वसा) must also be wrong.

II. वपा.

As regards the lexicographers, we have already referred to Amarakosa, 2. 6. 64, and shown that Amarakosa is wrong in making वसा synonymous with मेदस् Its mistake is worse as regards वपा

Medinī says वपा विवरमेदसो·, i e,, वपा means 'a hollow or cavity', and also मेदस् So far as मेदस् is concerned, it is the same as (if not actually based on) Amarakośa and, is, like it, wholly wrong.

Coming next to Apte, we find him saying, s v वपा "1. Fat, marrow. Y. 3. 94 ; 2. A hole, cavity , 4. The skin of the intestines".

Apte seems wholly wrong. वपा is neither "fat" nor "marrow"

(which is मज्जा) nor "the skin of the intestines" His '2. A hole, cavity" is obviously based on Medinī

Monier Williams gives no less than five meanings of वपा, Nos 2 to 4 being "a cavity, a hollow, hole, the skin or membrane investing the intestines or parts of the viscera, the caul or omentum, V. S &c, &c., (the horse has no omentum according to SBr), the mucous or glutinous secretion of the bones or flesh, marrow, fat (= medas) L "

Monier Williams also seems to be wholly wrong He does not, as usual, mention the name or names of his "L", but it seems to be no other than Amarakośa and Medinī.

Coming to प्रयोग now, we find the word used in Yāj. Sm., as referred to by Apte But there Mitākṣarā is disappointing. It satisfies itself by saying वपा प्रसिद्धा

Caraka Samhitā, 4. 7 12, enumerates the कोष्ठाग's, i. e., the internal organs contained in the hollow of the entire torso (and not merely the abdominal cavity), and there, in company with हृदय, यकृत and प्लीहा is mentioned वपावहन This shows that it is different from हृदय, so that the idea that हन्मेद is वपा must be wrong The reason for the suffix, वहन, I have not been able to find But, from what I have found, as I shall presently show, it seems to mean "sustaining or supporting the वपा".

In Kauśika Sūtra, 3. 7, we find ऋषभदक्षिणो वपयेंद्र यजेत. Sāyana to A V 7. 40. 1 says वृषभवपया इंद्रं यजेत But we do not get here what exactly वपा is.

The first indication of what it is like I got from Introduction to Sāyana to A V 18. 2 51—अग्नेर्वर्म [५८] इत्यनया समच्छिद्रया गो-[वपया] प्रेतमुखम् आच्छादयेत् This refers to the अनुस्तरणी गौः and shows that this वपा was a part of its body and must have been very much like a sheet in appearance, and in which seven holes were made, (obviously, one for each of the सप्त शीर्षण्याः प्राणाः) That this sheet-like thing was large enough to cover the dead person's face is clear,, so that it could not be such a small thing as the pericardium, nor such small, flimsy bits like the "skin of the intestines", or "caul" or "omentum" (i.e., peritoneal membrane, which is not like a sheet). To suggest,

with the above passage before one's eyes, that it is " the mucous or glutinous secretion of the bones or flesh, marrow, fat ", would, on the face of it, be absurd.

Upto this., however, we get that it is something like a sheet, but nothing more.

In Taitt. Sam. 2 1. 1. 4, we get स (i. e. प्रजापति) आत्मनो वपामुद्-क्खिदत्. Sāyana makes the thing perfectly clear here by saying स्वशरीराद् मध्यवर्तिनीं पटसदृशीं वपामुदक्खिदत् उत्खियोद्धृतवान्. So, we get that it is like a sheet capable of being torn out.

The fact that it is not only पटसदृशी, but also उदरमध्यवर्तिनी, makes me think that it is the disphragm and that it has nothing to do with the heart

That it is different from the heart is shown by Hiranyakeśī Gṛhya Sūtra (ed. Kirste) 2 15.5— संज्ञमायँ तूष्णीमद्भिः प्राणानाप्याय्य तूष्णीं वपां हृदयं मतस्ने उद्धरति. In view of this, ' वपा हृदयस्थधातुविशेषः' can hardly be maintained

Finally, as regards the position of the वपा in the cavity of the torso, we have in Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (ed. Ganapati Śāstrī) 1. 9 10— संज्ञप्य पुरा नाभेस्तृणमंतर्धाय वपाम् उत्खिद्य etc. Haradatta, in his Anāvilā tīkā to this passage, says— पुरा नामेरिति वपास्थाननिर्देशः नामेरर्वागित्यर्थः That is the position of the disphragm in the body.

Considering all the above factors, there can be no doubt that वपा is the diaphragm Otherwise it will not be possible to make seven holes in it, or to cover a man's face with it, or make possible the use of वपाश्रपणी, and वपाहन would accordingly mean its muscular attachments all round the abdominal cavity, forming its support.

III स्तन, तस्कर

Apte and Monier Williams agree in saying that both स्तेन and तस्कर mean " thief, robber ". It is perfectly clear that a " thief " is not the same thing as a " robber " I shall presently show that स्तेन and तस्कर are not quite the same thing.

We have in Mb. 12. 259. 7 (C P)—

यथाऽधर्मसमाविष्टो धनं गृह्णाति तस्करः ।
रमते निर्हरंस्तेन परवित्तमराजके ॥

Unfortunately, Nilakantha does not say anything here. But it is obvious that स्तेन is something different from तस्कर. Wherein lies the difference?

From what I have found, स्तेन means A thief, i.e., one who takes stealthily. And तस्कर means a robber, i. e., one who takes openly, i. e., with violence, a dacoit.

This will be seen from R. V. 7m. 55 3—स्तेन राय सारमेय तस्करं वा पुनःसर, where Sāyana says प्रच्छन्नधनापहारी स्तेनः ... ... प्रत्यक्ष-धनापहारी तस्करः ।

This idea is also expressed in Śābara Bhāsya to Mīmāṅsā darśana, 1. 2 11—यथा स्तेना प्रच्छन्नरूपाः.

There is another distinction made between स्तेन and तस्कर on the basis, not of the mode of taking as above, but on that of the value of things taken by them. स्तेन is one who takes things of comparatively smaller value; तस्कर is one who takes things of great value. This distinction is mentioned in A V. 19. 50. 5.—

अप स्तेन वासो गोअजमुत तस्करम् ।
अथो यो अर्वतः शिरोभिधाय निनीषति ॥

The man who steals clothes, cows and goats is a स्तेन, and तस्कर is a man who steals horses Sāyana says here—स्तेनतस्करयोः पर्यायत्वेऽपि अपहार्यद्रव्यगौरवेण पृथगपहननम् उक्तम् इति वेदितव्यम् ।

IV. शातकुंभ, जांबूनद

Taking शातकुंभ first of all, both Apte and Monier Williams say simply "gold" But it means "silver" as well. Bhatta Utpala tīkā to Varāhamihira's Brhat Samhitā, 12. 20, says—शातकुंभशब्दः सुवर्णरजतयोर्द्वयोरपि वाचकः ।

Then, as regards जांबूनद and शातकुंभ, Apte says about both simply "gold". Monier Williams says s v. शातकुंभ simply "gold" and s. v जाबूनद 'gold from the Jambu river, any gold' They seem both to rely on Amarakośa 2 9. 94–95,

From what I have found it seems that they were different metals, जांबनद being the more prized of the two Mb 13 85 83 (C P.)

एवं सुवर्णमुत्पन्नमपत्यं जातवेदसः ।
तत्र जांबूनदं श्रेष्ठं देवानामपि भूषणम् ॥

What was the distinction between the two? जांबूनद was reddish and शातकुंभ was white. Not that शातकुंभ was not valuable; it was only less valued than जांबूनद, that is all.

The fact that जांबूनद was reddish appears from the following—

तत्र जांबूनदं नाम कनकं देवभूषणम् ।

इंद्रगोपकसंकाशं जायते भास्वरं तु तत् ॥ Mb. 6, 7, 26 (CP).

जांबूनद इवादीप्तः प्रदीप्तज्वलनो यथा । Harivaṁśa, 2, 98, 47.

That gold of this description was found in the mountains of India is beyond doubt See Beal, " Si-yu-ki ", Book xii, (Vol. II, p 298) where Hiuen Tsang speaks of gold that is found in Po-lo-lo (Bolor, modern Balti or Baltistan in north Kashmir) and says it is ' as red as fire '.

In Mb. 1. 221 52 (C. P)=1. 218. 46 (B. O. R. I.), we have कृताकृतस्य मुख्यस्य कनकस्याग्निवर्चसः ।

As regards the distinction between the two, we have

जांबूनदमयान्यस्य शातकुंभमयानि च ।

प्रदीप्तज्वलनामानि शीतरश्मिनिभानि च ॥ Harivaṁśa, 2. 6 4. 4.

After this, I think, there cannot be any manner of doubt that शातकुंभ and जांबूनद are not synonymous. To say that both are " gold " would be incorrect. In fact, while जांबूनद appears to be gol', शातकुंभ seems to be a valuable metal, no doubt, but not gold at all. It is white in colour against the yellow of the gold, and may be, for aught I know, something like platinum or some similar white metal, whose colour was not, for some reason known to them, preferred to that of gold,. They were both सु-वर्ण,' but not सुवर्ण both of them

V. कुल, वंश, जाति.

I have found the following passages illustrating the use of the above words :—जात्या च सदृशाः सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा Mb. 12. 107. 30 (CP), उदात्तकुलजातीय उदात्ताभिजनः सदा Mb. 13. 145 31 (CP).

These two passages show कुल and जाति mentioned together. There must be some distinction Nilakantha does not say anything I have not been able to discover anything in Amarakośa,

Śabdakalpadruma, Apta or Monier Williams, which would indicate the distinction.

Similarly कुलवंशप्रतिष्ठां हि पितरः पुत्रमब्रुवन् Mb. 1. 74. 98 (CP) = 1. 69. 17 (B. O. R. I.); रत्नभूमिं प्रदद्यात् तु कुलवंशं प्रवर्धयेत् Mb. 13. 66. 32 (CP).

Here कुल and वंश. Here also Nīlakantha is silent, and I have not found anything in the four books just mentioned.

I found the answer, however, in the Inscription of Daśaratha in Dilwārā Temple, Mt Abu, dated Samvat 1201 (published in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā of Benares, Vol. 18, Sam. 1994, p. 235)— श्रीश्रीमालकुलोत्थनिर्मलतरप्राग्वाटवंशांबरे प्राजच्छीतकरोपमो गुणनिधिः श्रीनिन्नकाख्यो गृही ।

Ninnaka's mother's family was श्रीमाल and his father's family प्राग्वाट or पोरवाड.

This shows that कुल means "mother's family", i. e., the family in which the mother was born, while both जाति and वंश, being contrasted with कुल, mean the " father's family ".

VI. बिडाल, मार्जार, वृषदंश.

Amarakośa 2. 5. 6. says ओतुर्बिडालो मार्जारो वृषदंशक आखुभुक् . This is another of the places where Amarakośa is wrong It is wrong in so far as it identifies वृषदंश with बिडाल and मार्जार.

Mb. 9. 44. 25 (C. P.) says—

व्याघ्रसिंहर्क्षवदना बिडालमकराननाः ।
वृषदंशमुखाश्चान्ये गजोष्ट्रवदनास्तथा ॥

Similarly, Mb 9. 45. 80 (C P.) says—

मार्जारशशवक्त्राश्च दीर्घवक्त्राश्च भारत ।

and Mb. 9. 45. 84 (C. P.) says—

गोखरोष्ट्रमुखाश्चान्ये वृषदंशमुखास्तथा ।

Unfortunately, Nīlakantha does not say anything at any of these places, except बिडालवृषदंशौ मार्जारजातिभेदौ at 9. 44. 25.

But this much is certain from the above passages that वृषदंश is neither बिडाल nor मार्जार. That बिडाल and मार्जार both mean "cat" may be taken to be undisputed. At least, there is no reason to think that they are different.

But what is वृषदंश ? And is it really different from मार्जार ? The answer is given bv Suśruta Samhitā, 1 46. 70 and 76 The former passage reads सिंहव्याघ्रवृकतरक्षुऋक्षद्वीपिमार्जारशृगालमृगेर्वारुकप्रभृतयो गुहाशयाः i e., मार्जार, along with animals like the lion and the tiger, is a cave-dweller', it lives in natural caves

The latter passage reads गोधाशशवृषदंशलोपाकलोमशकर्णकदलीमृगप्रियकाजगरसर्पमूषिकनकुलमहाबभ्रुप्रभृतयो बिलेशयाः ।

i. e., वृषदंश, along with animals like the hare, the snake, the mouse and the mungoose, is a 'burrow-dweller', i e., it is a burrowing animal Exactly what sort of animal it is I have not been able to find, but this much is, to me, certain that it is *not* a cat.

Apte says it is a 'cat'. Monier Williams says—'a cat; a kind of animal living in holes, Susr '

Apte and Monier Williams, in so far as they say 'cat' rely evidently on Amarakośa above referred to and must be held to be wrong.

If this passes muster with the Editor, I shall try and send some more of this sort as soon as I can manage

Finally, I do not know, but the language of this article in some places may be thought to be of presumptuous carping criticism. But I hope not to be misunderstood. I am not a Sanskritist, but an humble student of Sanskrit, an Indian who is earnestly trying to understand the language of his forefathers correctly. He is grateful for everything he receives by way of instruction. But, at the same time, he does feel disgruntled if he finds that the instruction in any particular case was wrong. There is one good side to this, however; this dissatisfaction spurs him on to enquiries, and, so, on towards truth. And, who knows, *to* Truth ? That is all that I have to say.

II

I नेत्र, अक्षि.

नेत्र, and अक्षि are said by Amarakośa, 2. 6. 93, to be synonymous But it seems नेत्र means the entire eye, and अक्षि the iris only. प्रचंडघोणः पृथुदीर्घनेत्रः ताम्रायताक्षः कुरुराज एष Mb 4 71 13 (C P) = 15 25. 5 (C. P.)

II. शिष्य, अंतेवासी

They are not really synonymous.

शिष्य is a pupil for Vedic lore, and अंतेवासी one for handicrafts and the like. Smrticandrikā (ed Gharpure), II p 174 तथा च नारदः (१, १२)—"शिष्यांतेवासीदासस्त्रीप्रेष्यकृत्यकरैश्च यत् । कुटुंबहेतोरुत्क्षिप्तं दातव्यं तत् कुटुंबिना ॥" शिष्यो वेदविद्यार्थी । शिल्पविद्यार्थी त्वंतेवासी । So also in Mitākṣarā to Yāj. Sm. 2. 182

III. कपोत, पारावत

Amarakośa makes them synonymous 2. 5 14

But they are really different, कपोत being the dove and पारावत the pigeon. The first is inauspicious, and the second auspicious

कपोत is said to be the messenger of Nirrti in R V 10. 165. 1 This Sūkta is directed to be recited if a dove enters a house Brhat Saṁhitā, ch. 45, sl 71–72. See also Brhat Samhitā, ch. 87 sl. 12–13 In Bhāgavatam, 1. 14. 14, कपोत is described as मृत्युदूत.

Caraka Samhitā, 6. 4. 32, Smrticandrikā, III, p 428, and Mb. 13. 104. 114-5 (C.P.) all agree in saying that कपोत is inauspicious, and पारावत is auspicious

कपोत is of three kinds, आपांडुर, चित्रकपोत and कुंकुमधूम्र Bhatta Utpala's tīkā to Brhat Samhitā 87, 1, as also ibid , 87. 12–13. It appears that this division is known in the United Provinces even now. The आपांडुर variety is known as टोड़ु, the चित्रकपोत as चित्रक, and the कुंकुमधूम्र as सरोति. Sometimes, a fourth class is made out by splitting कुकुमधूम्र into कुकुम and धूम्र, the कुंकुम being the सरोति and the धूम्र the कला (dark).

IV. आवाह, विवाह

आवाहाश्च विवाहाश्च सह सूतैर्मया कृता Mb. 5, 141, 14 (C. P.) = 5, 139, 14 (B. O. R. I.); आवाहाश्च विवाहाश्च यज्ञाश्चान्नमृते तथा। निवर्तते नरश्रेष्ठ ब्रह्म चात्र प्रलीयते ॥ Mb. 13, 63, 33 (C.P.).

That there must be some distinction is obvious Nothing in Nīlakantha, Apte or Monier Williams to indicate it

It seems both are invitations to marriages. आवाह is invitation to the bridegroom's house—what we in Bengal call वरयात्र, and विवाह is invitation to the bride's house what we in Bengal call कन्यायात्र.

This is shown in Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra, 4. 1, 15— आवाहे विवाहे यज्ञे गमनं सखीभिः सह गोष्ठी देवताभिगमनमित्यनुज्ञाता कुर्यात्।

Here Jayamangalā tīkā says—आवाहे वरगृहे. विवाहे कन्यागृहे।

V विवाह, उद्वाह

They are not synonymous There is nothing to show the distinction in either Apte or Monier Williams.

विवाह means the first " half " of the entire marriage ceremony. It takes place in the bride's house and goes on upto (but not including) the departure of the newly-married couple for their home The second " half " of the ceremonies is called उद्वाह. beginning with the boarding of the रथ by the newly-married couple and ending at the bridegroom's house with a यवपूर्णांजलिहोम Sāyana, Intr. to AV. 14, 1, 1 says—विवाहः। स कुमार्याः पितृगृहे। .. ..कुमारीं तल्पाद् उत्थापयति... ..इति विवाहः॥ अथोद्वाहः। तत्र वरस्य गृहे वधूनयनम् . . तेनैव सूक्तेन यवानाम् आज्यमिश्राणां पूर्णांजलिं जुहोति। इत्युद्वाहः।

VI नारी, स्त्री

They are not exactly synonymous. स्त्री means woman in general नारी is a woman who is super-excellent among women. आर्तांऽऽर्ते मुदिते प्रीता नार्यर्ये स्त्रीषु सा भवेत्।

Nītimañjarī (Dyā Dvivedа), sl 114 Dyā Dvivedа explains the distinction —

अर्यः स्वामी आर्ते दुःखिनि आर्ता दुःखिता, तस्मिन् मुदिते सति या प्रीता मुदिता, सा स्त्री नारी भवेत्, "यतश्च निर्धारणम्" (पा. २, ३, ४) इति सप्तमी। अन्या न।

VII. इंद्र, महेंद्र.

They are not synonymous.

देवताश्वोपांशुयाजेंद्रमहेंद्रवर्जम्—Aśval. Gr. Sūt. 1, 10, 4.

इंद्रं निगमेषूपलक्षयेदिंद्रयाजिनो महेंद्रं महेंद्रयाजिनः—Āpast. Śr. Sūt. 2, 2, 7.

इंद्र was worshipped by those who had not attained prosperity, but were anxious to do so महेंद्र could not be worshipped by anybody who had not succeeded in attaining prosperity.

नाऽगतश्रीर्महेंद्रं यजेत Āpast Śrauta Sūtra, 1. 14 9

VIII. काद्रवेय, नाग.

Amarakośa 1. 8. 4 makes काद्रवेय and नाग synonymous, leaving out सर्प. As a matter of fact, it is undeniable that both नाग and सर्प are काद्रवेय, i e, children of कद्रू

I recall अर्बुदो नाम काद्रवेयः सर्पऋषिः Durgācārya to Nir 2. 5, and Sāyana to R. V 10. 94. 1—कद्र्वा पुत्रस्य सर्पस्याऽर्बुदस्यार्षम्

IX कीर्ति, यशस्.

Amarakośa 1, 6 11 (and Apte and Monier Williams) make them synonymous But Mb 12 54 32 (C P.) says—

यावद्धि प्रथते लोके पुरुषस्य यशो भुवि।
तावत् तस्याक्षया कीर्तिर्भवतीति विनिश्चिता॥

Obviously कीर्ति and यशस् are not the same thing Nīlakantha explains यशः परचित्तचमत्कृतिजनकः गुणौघः । कीर्तिः साधुतयाऽन्यैः कथनम् ।

Thus यशस् means "the superior qualities of a man which impresses others", and कीर्ति "the appreciative talks about him by other people".

X क्रतु, यज्ञ.

Neither Apte nor Monier Williams makes any distinction between the two

Visnu Purāna 4 13. 136 says अयमपि यज्ञादनंतरमन्यत्क्रत्वंतरं तस्यानंतरमन्ययज्ञांतरं चाजस्रमविच्छिन्नं यजतीति

Mb. 6. 33. 16 (C P.) = Gītā, 9. 16 says अहं क्रतुरहं यज्ञः ।

Here Śamkarācārya Bhāsya says क्रतुः श्रौतः कर्मभेदोऽहमेवाऽहं यज्ञः स्मार्तः ।

XI. क्रोध (कोप), अमर्ष.

Amarakośa, 1, 7. 26 treats these as synonymous, and so do Apte and Monier Williams.

But

क्रोधामर्षौ समुत्सृज्य संमतस्थे दिवं तदा Mb. 1, 228, 23 (C. P.) = 1, 219, 19 (B. O. R. I.), which reads कोपः, सक्रोधामर्षजिह्मभ्रूसकषायदृशस्तथा Mb. 1, 96, 17 (B. O. R. I.); क्रोधं बलममर्षं च यो निधाय परंतपः । जितात्मा पांडवोऽमर्षी भ्रातुस्तिष्ठति शासने ॥ Mb. 5, 90, 25 (C. P.) = 5, 88, 26 (B O. R. I.); उवाच सारथिं तत्र क्रोधामर्षसमन्वितः Mb. 7, 115, 4 (C P.) Nīlakantha does not say anything at any of these places

We have in Visṇu Purāna, 1. 13. 27—ततस्ते मुनयः सर्वे कोपामर्षसमन्विताः Here Śrīdhara in his Ātmaprakāśa tīkā says कोपश्च अमर्षश्च भगवन्निंदाजनितौ ताभ्यां समन्विताः Visnucitti ṭikā here says अमर्षोऽनितिक्षा

So, क्रोध (or कोप) is 'Anger". अमर्ष is "the state of impatience or impetuosity (or incapacity to put up with the circumstances), being the result of extreme anger".

The reader will have noticed that I have considered प्रयोग to be not only very important, but the very touchstone for lexicographers In fact in so many cases, my view is that प्रयोग shows that the lexicographer is wrong I say this on the basis of a fair collection of passages critically considered (of course, according to my lights) in my interleaved copies of Apte and Monier Williams.

In this view, a new Dictionary of Sanskrit, on the lines of Murray's Oxford English Dictionary, or of its less known predecessor, Fallon's 'Hindustani-English Dictionary, is a desideratum.

That it is not a "one-man job" is sure enough, particularly when the language is Sanskrit

And I recall to my mind

सर्वः सर्वं न जानाति सर्वज्ञो नास्ति कश्चन ।
नैकत्र परिनिष्ठास्ति ज्ञानस्य पुरुषे क्वचित् ॥

But can it be difficult of achievement, if a batch of Sanskritists, who have made intensive and extensive study of the language, put their heads together for a number of years?

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF HINDU FESTIVALS—
SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF DIVĀLĪ FESTIVAL
—(BETWEEN C. A D. 50 AND 1945)

By

P. K. GODE

All festivals have a unifying influence in social and national life. Students of the cultural history of a nation must understand the genesis and development of these festivals and record their history with as much precision and detail as possible. The oldest living civilizations on this globe have contributed not a little to the growth of these festivals, which are a regular feature of national life. To whatever class of people these festivals may belong they have a peculiar human appeal In India with its numerous religious beliefs we have quite a bewildering variety of religious and semi-religious festivals but unfortunately much of the writing [1] devoted to these festivals is of a descriptive type, in which no attempt is made to fathom the depths of available historical sources with a view to reconstructing any reliable history worth the name.

In 1916 one author who calls himself "*Rgvedi*" published a book called *History of Aryan Festivals* [2] (आर्यांच्या सणांचा इतिहास) in

[1] The provincial *Gazetteers* of India contain much useful information about many of these festivals but it is of a descriptive type The history of each festival ought to be studied in the form of monographs as a preliminary to an encylopaedic history of Indian Festivals At present our knowledge of the history of festivals is rather nebulous. We cannot say when a particular festival originated and how it developed through centuries of our cultural history. Mere descriptions of the present-day festivals, howsoever enchanting, do not prove their antiquity as these descriptions are a mixture of legends and here-say evidence with many regional variations, from which it is difficult to comprehend the origin and development of these festivals.

[2] This book was published in Bombay. The Preface of the author is dated 3rd April 1916 This book appears to have enjoyed a wide popularity as will be seen from the *opinions* printed at the end of the volume The author deals with such topics as — (1) Rise of Indian Astronomy, (2) Seasons, (3) Months, (4) *Adhikamāsa* (intercalary month), (5) Seven days

(*continued on the next page*)

Marathi. This is perhaps the only book in Marathi which devotes no less than about 370 pages to the study of Hindu festivals but even here one fails to find any history as such of each festival which has governed the life of our ancestors for hundreds of years. This attempt is, however, praise-worthy as it is perhaps the only conscious effort to meet a long-felt want about the history of our festivals. In dealing with each festival the author records valuable information about its currency in different regions of India, the ritual connected with it and the present manner of its celebration. The remarks of the author on the historical background of each festival are suggestive but not comprehensive for want of fully documented study about its origin and development. The author tells us in his Preface that his book is not written for the learned reader All the same we must thank him for this pioneer [1] attempt, which is sufficiently conscientious and learned within the limitations under which he had to work and thus provide a readable account of Hindu or Aryan festivals as they are observed in India in the different months of one Hindu year

(*continued from the previous page*)

of the week, (6) *Saṁvatsara-phala*, (7) different *Śakas*, (8) Seasonal Festivals and Historical Festivals (pp. 16–17), (9) *Saṁvatsara-Pratipadā*. (10) *Rāmanavamī*, (11) *Dolotsava*, (12) *Gaurī-Utsava*, (13) *Akṣayya-Tṛtīyā*, (14) *Paraśurāma-Jayantī*, (15) *Nṛsiṁha-Jayantī*, (16) *Gangotsava* or *Daśaharā*, (17) *Vaṭa-Sāvitrī*, (18) *Mahā-Ekādaśī*, (19) History of *Cāturmāsa*, (20) *Nāgapañcamī*, (21) *Mangalā-Gaurī*, (22) *Śrāvaṇī*, (23) *Povatī Paurṇimā*, (24) *Nārali-Paurṇimā*, (25) *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī*. (26) *Pithorī-Amāvāsyā*, (27) *Polā* or *Vṛṣabhotsava*, (28) *Haritālikā*, (29) *Gaṇeśa-Caturthī*, (30) *Ṛṣi-Pañcamī*, (31) *Jyeṣṭhā-Gaurī*, (32) *Vāmana-dvādaśī*, (33) *Ananta-Caturdaśī*, (34) *Mahālaya-Pakṣa*, (35) *Navarātra-Mahotsava*, (36) *Vijayā-daśamī*, (37) *Rāmalīlā*, (38) *Dīpāvali-Mahotsava* (धनत्रयोदशी or धनतेरस, नरकचतुर्दशी, लक्ष्मीपूजन), (39) *Balipratipadā*, (40) *Yama-dvitīyā*, (41) *Tulasī-vivāha*, (42) *Dhātrīpūjana*, (43) *Vaikuntha-Caturdaśī*, (44) *Tripurī-Paurṇimā*, (45) *Campā-ṣaṣṭhī*, (46) *Datta-Jayantī*, (47) *Makara-Sankramana*, (48) *Vasanta-Pañcamī*, (49) *Ratha-Saptamī*, (50) *Mahāśivarātra*, (51) *Phālguna-Utsava* or *Holī*

[1] I must not fail to mention here a still earlier book on Hindu festivals This is called " *Hindu Holidays* " by Balaji Sitaram Kothare, printed at the Times Press, Bombay, 1904, pages 100 The author contributed his articles on this subject to the *Times of India* in the years 1900 and 1901 and these have been presented in a book-form with the above title. About festivals the

(*continued on the next page*)

According to Rgvedi the Hindu festivals can be roughly classified [1] as follows —

(1) *Festivals originating from Rtus or Seasons* :—

संवत्सर प्रतिपदा, अक्षय्यतृतीया, चातुर्मास श्रावणी, नारळी पौर्णिमा, विजयादशमी, दीपावली, धात्रीपूजन, मकरसंक्रांत, वसंतपंचमी, होळी व शिमगा

(2) *Historical (Aitihāsika) Festivals* .—

श्रीरामनवमी, परशुरामजयंती, दशहरा, कृष्णजन्माष्टमी, वामनद्वादशी ?

(3) *Śaiva Festivals* —

त्रिपुरी पौर्णिमा, महाशिवरात्र

(4) *Vaisnava Festivals* —

नृसिंहजयन्ती, महाएकादशी, अनंतचतुर्दशी, वैकुंठचतुर्दशी, दोलोत्सव

(continued from the previous page)

author rightly observes -- " The life of a nation is best depicted by the description given of its festivals, and the Hindus, being a civilized nation from remote antiquity have had their own holidays both to create and express joy Hero-worship, religious devotion, social enjoyments, and the observance of particular rites and ceremonies, with definite object in view such as preservation of women from widowhood, freedom from the guilt of committing heinous crimes, the preservation of children from death in infancy, the acquisition of wealth, the restoration of lost power, fortune or kingdom, the remembrance, worship or feeding of the departed spirits of ancestors have their characteristic holidays " — The book deals briefly with the account of the following Holidays — (1) *Gudi Padva*, *Ramanavami*, (2) *Hanuman Jayanti*, (3) *Vata Pornima*, (4) *Ashadi Ekadashi*, (5) *Nag Panchami*, (6) *Cocoanut Day*, (7) *Janma* and *Gokul Ashtami*, (8) *Pithori Amavasia*, (9) *Ganesh Chaturthi*, (10) *Gauri*, (11) *Vaman Dwadashi*, (12) *Anant Chaturdashi*, (13) *Hindu anniversary Days*, (14) *Navaratra Festival*, (15) *Dasara*, (16) *Kojagari Pornima*, (17) *Dewali*, (18) *Four Hindu Holidays*, (19) *Datta Jayanti*, (20) *Makara Sankrant*, (21) *Mahashivaratra*, (22) *Holi Festival*

[1] This classification is good enough so far as it goes. It is only after a thorough historical study of each festival is recorded that an accurate classification can be given As regards the ritual and belief connected with some of the Hindu festivals see *Keys of Power* by J. Abbott (Methuen & Co, London, 1932). I note some points from this book about the *Divāli* — *Divāli*, 204–205, maidens wave *arti* at *D*. 63, 183, impression of hand made on cattle at *D*. 132, Oil applied to the body at *D* 159, Lights waved before cattle at *D* 184, Foot-prints drawn at *D* 146, Worship of implements at *D* 230, Manavadi days during D. 252, Use of red water at D. 282, Seed-drill dressed in garments of a woman at *D*. 357, Worship of Lakṣmī on the threshing at D 369, Pole of the threshing-floor out at D 370; Grinding forbidden at D 480 — It would be useful to study the history and chronology of these practices from datable sources, Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit.

(5) *Kautumbika Festivals*:—

वटसावित्री, मंगलागौरी, पिठोरी अमावास्या, हरितालिका, ऋषिपंचमी

(6) *Śākta Festivals*:—

गौरी-उत्सव, ज्येष्ठागौरी, ललितापंचमी, सरस्वती, देवी नवरात्र चंपाषष्ठी (?)

(7) Saura Festivals — रथसप्तमी

(8) Gānapatya Festivals — गणेशचतुर्थी

For studying the regional variations in the celebration of different Hindu festivals one must get first-hand information about these festivals from the residents of the different regions, where these festivals are observed. In the absence of this information we can get some information about them in the Provincial Gazetteers,[1] some of which were written in a scholarly manner and hence may serve as a useful starting point for a historical study of the different festivals as they show the currency or otherwise of these festivals in different regions, where some of the old traditions have been preserved. We must, however, go from the present to the past and thus try to study when and how the details of these festivals have originated and thus enriched the social, religious and cultural life of India

[1] The *Bombay Gazetteer* contains the following references to *Divāli* holidays — Vol. IX, pt i, 23, note 5, 54, 82, 119, 151, 170, 173 175, 178, 303, 305, 306, 316, 336, Festival days among Bhils, *id*. pp 305-306, Fire-worship on— *id*, 357, Days for settling accounts by traders, *id*, 82, Period best suited to subject evil spirits, IX, pt. ii, 145, Hindu New year considered an evil spirit time, *id*, 148, Buddhist Holidays XIV, 145, among Pātāne Prabhus, XVIII, pt. i, 251-253, among Kunbis, *id*, 294-295

The *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* contains some references to *Divālī* (see IV, 607a, *Ahir*, I, 232b, 233a, *Bhil*, II, 555b, *Davars*, V, 3a, *Dravidian*, V, 3a, 14a, 19ab, *Pavras* V, 19b, *Sacrifice*, V, 14a) — The description of *Dravidian Dīvālī* (V, 19ab) has the following features —

(1) *Lights* are used probably as a means of expelling evil spirits.

(2) *Sacrifice* of goats and fowls before stones, painted red after bringing them from a neighbouring river-bed

(3) *Dancing* and feasting, attended with lighted torches

(4) Cattle are decorated with colour and garlands and a figure of the cattle-god *Balindra* is made and kept in the cow-shed.

(5) Procession of the fiercest bull and the swiftest heifer through the village — Any lad who can snatch a garland from the bull or heifer is considered a fit match for the best girl in the neighbourhood.

In his article[1] on *Divali-Folklore* Mr. B. A. Gupte observes :— " Holidays in all countries have their folklore, and the *Divālī* of India is no exception. The greater the number of folk-tales, the higher the stage of development in the society, and the greater the interest we find attached to the evolution of the festivities. " Mr Gupte then records half a dozen different folk notions, of which No. V is as follows :—

" The fifth idea has a *historical* basis It is that King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, a scion of the Gupta race was crowned on this day, the 16th of Asvin and counted his era accordingly. This is thus a New year's day " From the multiplicity of accounts of the origin of *Divāli* Mr Gupte discloses the following points — (1) the change of the season, (2) the death of the rice-crop harvest, (3) the time of manuring the soil for the Second crop, (4) the Sun reaching Libra, the Seventh sign of the Zodiac, (5) the coronation of Rāma, and (6) the selection of this coronation day for the conventional coronation and era-making day of Vikramāditya, the last of the Guptas In the Plate of *Divāli Drawings* (drawn by women from the 8th day o. the 2nd half of *Āśvin* to *Divāli*) accompanying Mr Gupte's article we find the following symbols :— (1) Temple ascribed to *Lakṣmī* Nārāyana, (2) the Sun, (3) the Moon, (4) hanging lamps, (5) *Śankha* Shell, (6) the mace, (7) the lotus, (8) the wheel, (9) the *Svastika*, (10) the *Śeṣa* or thousand-hooded cobra, (11) the cow's foot-prints, (12) sparrows, (13) the mango (14) the bel (wood-apple) tree and (15) the foot-prints of Laksmi According to Mr Gupte " the presence of sparrows at harvest time, the position of the threshing floor usually near a shady tree, and the incoming realization of the sale-proceeds (wealth) as expressed by the foot-prints are significant. This is perhaps *the most primitive origin of the festival* "

In the *Hobson-Jobson* (by Yule and Burnell, London, 1903, pp. 208-309) we get some foreign notices of *Divāli* from *A.D. 1613* onwards. I reproduce here these notices with the remarks of the editors —

Dewally, S. H. *diwalī*, from Skt. *dīpa-ālikā*, 'a row of lamps' i. e. an illumination An autumnal feast attributed to the celebration of various divinities, as of *Lakshmī* and of *Bhavānī*, and also in honour of Krishna's slaying of the demon *Naraka*, and the release of 16000 maidens, his prisoners. It is held on the last two days of the dark half of the month of *Asvin* or *Aśan* and on the new moon and four following days of *Kārttika* i e usually some time in October But there are variations of Calendar in different parts of India and feasts will not always coincide e. g. at the three Presidency towns nor will any ourt expression define the dates In Bengāl, the name *Diwālī* is not used, it is *Kālī Pūjā*, the feast of that grim goddess, a midnight festival on the most moonless nights of the month, celebrated by illuminations and fireworks on land and river, by feasting, carousing, gambling and sacrificing of goats, sheep and buffaloes.

A. D. 1613—" *Diwaly* "

—*Godinho de Eredia, f 38* v

A D. 1623--" October the *four* and *twentieth* was the *Dawāli* or the feast of the Indian Gentiles "

—*P Della Valle*, Hak. Soc. ii, 206

A D. 1651—" In the month of *October* eight days after the full moon there is a feast held in honour of Vistnou which is called *Dipāwali*

– *A Rogerius, De Open-Deur*

A D. 1671—" In *October* they begin their year with great feasting, Jollity sending presents to all they have any busyness with which time is called *Dually* "

—*Hedges Diary*, Hak. Soc. ii, cccxiv

A. D. 1673—" The first New Moon in *October* is the Banyan's *Dually* '

—*Fryer*, 110.

A D. 1690—"......their Grand Festival Season called *Dually* Time "

—*Ovington*, 401.

A. D 1820—" The *Dewalee, Deepaullee* or Time of Lights takes place 20 days after the *Dussera* and lasts three days, during which there is feasting, illumination, and *fireworks* "

—*T. Coats* in *Tr Lit Soc Bo*, ii, 211.

A D. 1843—" *Nov 5* The *Diwali*, happening to fall on this day, the whole river was bright with lamps ... Ever and anon some votary would offer up his prayers to *Lakshmi the Fortuna* and launch a tiny raft bearing a cluster of lamps into water,—then watch it with fixed and anxious gaze If it floats on till the far distance hides it thrice happy he .. .. ..but if, caught in some wild eddy of the stream it disappears at once, so will the bark of his fortunes be engulphed in the whirl pool of adversity. "

—*Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, 84

A D 1883—" The *Diwali* is celebrated with splendid effect at *Benares* . . At the approach of nights small earthen lamps, fed with oil are prepared by millions and placed quite close together so as to mark out every line of mansion, palace, temple, minaret and dome in streaks of fire "

—*Monier Williams, Religious Thought and Life in India*, 432.

E W. Hopkins in his article on *Hindu Festivals and Fasts* in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 1912 (Vol V, pp. 867-871) classifies Hindu festivals as follows .—

(i) *Ancient Festivals* —

(1) Moon-festival (seasonal)

(2) ' Four-month celebration ' (seasonal).

(3) Ceremony of First-fruits

(4) Soma-sacrifice.

(5) Consecration Ceremony.

(6) Horse-sacrifice.

(7) Solstice-feast

(8) Twelve nights' Celebration.

(9) Sacrifices at *tirthas* by pilgrims

(ii) *Modern Festivals* — These festivals are new in effect, though old in general character.

(1) *Lamp Festival* (*Divālī*) — The rites in honour of one god have passed over to another without materially altering the celebration and sometimes even to-day the same celebration is held in honour of different gods Thus the very pleasing *lamp-festival* in which, in autumn, lamps are lighted in every direction, floating lamps are set off down rivers etc, is celebrated by some as a festival in honour of Visnu's wife, and by others in honour of Durgā, the wife of Siva—Modern festivals have thrown off Brahmanism as far as possible, and are more clearly celebrations of the seasons, devoid of priestly ritual and self-sufficient.

(2) *Spring Festival* of Northern India (*Holi*) — Between the old and new there must have been a large number of special festivities now lost sight of, or only faintly reflected in intermediate literature—not to speak of many special festivities in honour of gods and goddesses described in the mediaeval Purānic and Tantric literature—Some of the modern festivals are both Sectarian and Seasonal—In the devil-frightening festival viz. the "lamp-festival" (*Divālī*) the original intent of the celebration is merged in the worship of some modern deity.

(3) *Makarasankrānti* and others—

That there were many festivals not included under the screen of religious rites in ancient times may be taken for granted and this is supported by external evidence—Many of the Hindu festivals have a counter-part in those of other races

It is clear from the above grouping of Hindu festivals that the *Divālī* or "lamp-festival" is a *Modern festival* according to Hopkins,[1] who, however, does not say when it originated and developed its numerous features as we see them to-day.

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[1] Hopkins records the following *Literature* pertaining Hindu *Festivals and Fasts* —

(1) *H H Wilson* *Select Works*, ii, London Festivals of the Hindus"

(2) *Natesa Sastri* *Hindu Feast, Fasts and ceremonies,*

(3) *W. J Wilkins* *Modern Hinduism*, Calcutta, 1900.

(4) *Monier Williams* *Hinduism*, London, 1877.

(5) *F K. Ginzel* *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Leipzig, 1906, ff., i 310-402.

(6) *E W. Hopkins* *Religions of India*, Boston, 1895 (previous literature cited on pp. 448 and 592).

(*continued on the next page*)

In the above volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* there is an article by Margaret Stevenson on *Jain Festivals and Fasts* (pp. 875-879) In this article she describes the *Diwāli* of the Jains as follows —

" Next to *Pajjusaṇa* the greatest of all the Jain sacred seasons is *Diwāli*. If the former owes its importance to the emphasis which the Jains lay on the sin of killing, *Diwāli* derives its position from the *importance of wealth to a mercantile community*, the Jains The Jains assign a special reason for their participation in what is *really a Hindu festival in honour of Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth. They say it *originated when Mahāvīra passed to mokṣa* and the eighteen confederate Kings and others who were present at his passing instituted an *illumination*, saying " *Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter* (see *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxii 2; 6)

The festival continues for *four days*, the last days of *Āśvina* which close the Hindu year and the *first of Kārttika*—falling usually within the months of *October* or *November* Among the Svetāmbara Jains, the *first day* (*Dhanteras*) of the festival is devoted to polishing jewellery and ornaments in honour of Laksmī, on the *second day* (*Kālīchaudas*) the women try to *propitiate evil spirits* by giving them some of the sweetmeats they prepare and cook on this day These they place in a circle at cross-roads (q v,) in order to protect their children from evil influences during the year The *third* (*Amāsa*) is the *great day of the feast* It was *on this day that Mahāvīra went to Mokṣa* and *Gautama Indrabhūti attained to Kaivalya* This is the day on which Jains worship their account-books and decorate and illuminate their houses In the morning Jains of all three sects go to their monasteries and convents and do reverence to the chief monk

(*continued from the previous page*)

(7) *J C. Oman Brahmans, Theists* and *Muslems* of *India*, London, 1907, (esp. p 241 ff, The Holi Festival)

(8) *A Hillebrandt* Die Sonnwendfeste in Alt- Indien ' in *Roman Forschungen*, V, (1889) 209-340 and *Vedische Opfer und Zauber*. Strassburg, 1897 (= *GIAP*, iii, 2)

(9) *B Lindner* . *Das ind Ernteopfer, in Festgruss an Bohtlingk*, Stuttgart, 1888, pp 79-81.

(10) *J Jolly* . *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GIAP* ii, 8)

or nun present, who preaches to them on the life of Mahāvīra and sings appropriate songs. The more devout lay people stay and do *posaha*, but the generality go home and make up their accounts for the year. In the evening they summon a Brāhman to direct the *Śāradā Pūjā* or worship of the account-books, for Brāhmans are still the domestic chaplains of the Jains The Jain having arranged his account-book on a stool, the Brāhman enters and paints a *chāndalo* (auspicious mark) on the Jain's fore-head, his pen and one page of the account-book. He then writes the word *Śrī* (i e. *Lakṣmī*) on the account-book, either five, seven or nine times is such a way as to form a pyramid. A rupee (the oldest possible) is now placed on the book, this rupee for the time being, is considered to be *Lakṣmī* herself and the placing of it is called *Lakṣmī-pūjā*. All the year the owner will carefully guard this particular coin as it is considered luck-bringing, and will use it again next *Diwāli*, so that in some Jain families the coin used is of great rarity and antiquity Besides the coin, the leaf of a creeper is also placed on the account-book and the Jain waves a little lamp filled with burning camphor before the book, on which he has placed rice, *pān*, betel-nut, turmeric and various kinds of fruit. The ceremony ends by sprinkling the books with red powder after which the Brāhman and the Jain feast on sweet-meats. The account-book is left open for several hours and before closing it they say : *Lakṣa lābha*, *Lakṣa lābha*, i, e. a hundred thousand profits.

The fourth and the last day of *Diwāli*, Newyear's Day, is the first day of the month of *Kārttika* and of the commercial year: and the Jains then go and greet all their friends much as we might on our New year's Day and send cards to those who are absent. "

If the *Jaina Divāli* originated with the death of Lord Mahāvīra for which B C. 528-7 is one of the traditionary dates [1] we can definitely say that it is about 2400 years old. Can we establish the antiquity of the *Hindu Divāli* for such a period and also prove the exact starting point of its history ? It is exactly for answering this question on the strength of documentary

[1] Vide p 46 of *Early History of India* by Vincent Smith, Oxford, 1914 and p 616 of *Madhyayugīna-Caritra-Kośa* by S. Chitrava Shastri, Poona, 1937,

evidence that I have undertaken the present study. I shall, therefore, try to establish the antiquity of the *Hindu Divālī* as far back as documentary evidence can take it, leaving it to other investigators to improve upon my labours and give us a conclusive history and chronology of this most popular Hindu festival.

In view of the close parallelism between the *Hindu Divālī* and the *Jain Divālī* we are tempted to ask the following questions :—

(1) Which is the older of the two Divālis—*Jain* or *Hindu* ?

(2) Is it possible to suppose that the older of these two *Divālis* has influenced the younger one ?

These questions cannot be answered satisfactorily unless we have reconstructed the history of both these *Divālis* I shall, therefore, record in this paper some data which would reveal to a certain extent the historical background of these *Divālis* but before I do so I shall record a detailed description of the Hindu or Brahmanical Divālī as given by Margaret Stevenson in her book *Rites of the Twice-Born* (Religious Quest of India Series), London, 1920, pp 335–340 This description reads as follows :—

' The great *Feast of Lamps* (*Dīpāvali*, *Dīpālī* or *Divālī* occupies the last three days of the Indian year (the 13th, 14th and 15th of the dark half of the month of *Āśvina*) which are sacred to Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth

The *first* of these three days (the *Day of wealth-worship*, Guj *Dhana-terasa*) is extremely auspicious. Indeed, so invariably auspicious it is, that no astrologer need be consulted about a child being put to school for the first time that day, a move being undertaken, newly married brides being sent to their husband's homes, or gold being given out to a goldsmith to fashion into jewellery

As a rule, before this day there is bustle and stir, excursions and alarums in every Twice-born home, for the houses have to be white-washed throughout and decorated, the compound cleaned and the square before the door replastered and marked with a *Svastika* in chalk and coloured powder, and all the metal vessels, polished till they shine like gold, have to be arranged in glittering rows round the rooms in the ladies' part of the house, all the ornaments, gold and silver, have similarly to be cleaned

and, if necessary, sent to the goldsmith's for repair; and all the bills called in and paid. Every old-fashioned house-hold has its own tailor, washerman and goldsmith, whose dues are paid once a year now at *Divāli*; for not one single debt may be left outstanding. This is the time too when new vessels and new cloth are first taken into use. Old-fashioned people, who do not trust in such new-fangled things as banks, take out their hoardings on this day, wash them in milk and worship them. A fine old chief in one part of India regularly worships a thousand gold *mohurs* on this day. He puts them all into a huge copper-dish, pours water over them and offers them the full sixteen-fold worship, giving alms to Brahmans at the close. All three days the children let off crackers, and help to illuminate their homes by putting lights on the gates But on this first day the boys tie white strings and clips to the end of sticks to make buzzers (Guj *Bhambuḍa*)

These they whirl over their heads, so that their buzzing may frighten the cows Any dust these animals kick up on this day is considered specially sacred, so the boys go and stand in the perfect dust-storm caused by the stampeding cows running away from the buzzers, and so acquire virtue without a trace of boredom!

The women with their spring cleaning finished, cook specially nice food and wear their best clothes The houses not only of the Twice-born but of all the *Hindus* and also of *Jainas* and *Pārsīs*, are illuminated, and there is universal rejoicing in the fact that all debts are paid, the harvest garnered and the rainy season over, so that every one seems happy, and the entire holiday is a festival of light-heartedness Far different will be the following night!

The morning after the Day of Wealth-worship is still a time of gladness and rejoicing (*Rūpa Caturdasi*, *The Day of Beauty*) Men and women get up early take extra pains over their toilet, and wear their finest clothes. Every one is dressed before six, and they all have great fun calling on different friends, breakfasting with them and eating special dainties.

But the *Witches Night* (*Kāla Rātri*) that follows is a parlous time, the most hag-haunted season of the whole year, for then

all the evil ghosts of the wicked or of those who have died violent deaths, and the terrifying spectres of women who have died in child-birth, come out and walk the streets. But besides these black malignant spirits ordinary ghosts, demons, ghosts, wraiths and witches are also abroad. All through the year rash fools who wished to meet ghosts could find them after night fall when they haunt cemeteries and burning-grounds, or in the particular trees where they dwell, but on this 14th night of the dark of the moon of *Āśvina* they are not confined within their usual limits, but move freely, wherever they please.

So all wise people bide at home if they possibly can, especially if, like women or children, they are also very timid.

Hanumān, the special guardian against ghosts, has, you may be sure, more than the usual number of worshippers this night, who pour oil and red lead over him and offer him coco-nuts. In return his devotees take some of the oil that drips from his right foot, burn it with soot, and mark their eyes with it, for this not only ensures their being under the special protection of the god for the year, but also improves their sight for the same period

Other people quiet the ghosts by making circles where four roads meet and put cakes of grain and pulse fried together in oil within the circle, and Indians of other than the Twice-born castes would worship certain mother goddesses within these circles.

Venturesome men who know the right *mantras* for laying ghosts sometimes try and get control over spirits on this night and go alone to the burning grounds. There they make a circle, either with cold iron or with water and sit carefully within its bounds keeping some pulse of a special kind (*Phaseolus radiatus*) near them.

All sorts of ghosts, ghouls, demons, fiends, and witches attack the man If they come too near, he throws the pulse at them, and this frightens them off, and as long as he keeps a brave heart and repeats the right *mantras* 108 times without stumbling, all goes well, and he is their absolute master for the ensuing year, but if he steps outside the circle before the day dawns, or if for one moment during the terrible ordeal his heart fails him and he blenches, or if he stumbles as he repeats a *mantra*, he is in the fiends' power for ever.

Other Indians, such as Kolis, Bhils, and the low-castes go down on this night to the desolate places where corpses are burnt and, making similar circles, burn within them as sacrifices to terrible mother goddesses, such as *Mahākāli*, or *Bhairavi*, or *Meladi*, offerings of evil forbidden food, spirits and meat and give them a *Sāri* of ceremony and bangles to wear

If inspite of all her tears, a woman has to go outside her house on this terrifying night, she walks very carefully, for there are circles drawn in every street and if she so much as put her foot inside one, an evil spirit will take possession of her. If, by some mischance, this terrible catastrophe does happen to her, she knows it, and so do her friends, by her constant shaking. Sometimes the woman her self says who the ghost is, how it came, and how to get rid of it.

The last day of the three is the greatest of all the *Divāli* days. In the morning children get up early, bathe as soon as they are dressed, and let off crackers to their heart's content The children have had a fine time all three days, for their elders believe that, if the children are indulged and kept happy in every possible way, the year will bring good fortune to both parents and children, you may be sure, make the most of so congenial a creed !

On this last day they take a cake of cow-dung, thrust in it a piece of sugar-cane for a holder and arrange on the cow-dung a tiny earthen lamp, in which a wick floating on sweet oil is kept burning. Carrying this light (Guj *Merayum*) the children go round from house to house begging oil for their lamp, that their dead ancestors may get light.

Their elders spend the morning in meeting and entertaining their friends and preparing for what is the main ceremony of the three day's holiday, the *Worship of the Account-books*, by putting bigger lamps than ever in the windows of their houses, for this night the illuminations must be "gorgeous and grand". All the old accounts must be closed and the new ones opened, in preparation for the worship.

The astrologer fixes the exact moment for this all important rite to be performed.

The new account book is opened and on its third leaf a Brāhman writes the word *Śrī* (i e *Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth) over and over again in such a way as to form a pyramid of the syllable *Śrī*,

In the centre of this pyramid a betel-leaf is placed, and on it a current rupee, the newer the better

The five-fold worship is offered by the presiding Brāhman to the account-book still open at this page, concluding with *ārati*, and at the end the food offered is distributed to visitors and alms are given to the Brāhman, who in turn blesses his host, saying " May you be happy all the year "

Then as an omen, the rupee from the account-book is tossed up, and if it falls with a clear ringing sound, it is a lucky presage for the new year

Afterwards every one gathers round to eat sugar and grain, sends trays of it to friends and lets off crackers

The account-book is kept open all night with a lamp burning beside it, and early in the morning the Brāhman returns His host says to him three times " *Lakṣa Lābha* " (a hundred thousand profits) and the Brāhman replies " May you have a hundred and twenty-five thousand profits " and shuts the account-book

All night long every one in the house has kept awake and with the dawning of the new year they sally forth to wish their friends all happiness "

My object in reproducing the above description of the *Dīvālī* in extenso is two-fold · *Firstly* it will enable my readers to compare it with the descriptions of the *Dīvālī*, as current in the other regions of India and greater India, which may not have come under the direct observation of Mrs Stevenson, *Secondly* it will enable research scholars to see if any of the features of the *Dīvālī* celebration mentioned in this description have any early history for them and whether such history can be proved on documentary evidence of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources In studies pertaining to the culture of any nation the details of any feature of this culture are most important and need to be recorded with meticulous care so that they may give us as comprehensive a picture of this culture as possible on the strength of present observation and past history, backed up by historical

sources pertaining to different regions and periods. Every modern feature may not have any long history for it but it is possible to trace the history of some essential features of a festival to ancient times.

We have recorded the descriptions of the *Hindu* and *the Jain Divāli* so far. Now let us record a description of the *Divālī* as observed in Greater India by people with Buddhist persuasion In this connection some interesting information is found in the account of *Siamese Festivals and Fasts* by G. E. Gerini (Vide pp. 885–890 of *Ency of Reli and Ethics*, Vol. V) who informs us that Siamese festivals are traceable, as a rule, to either Brahmanism or Buddhism These two creeds were introduced into Siam at a very early date and consequently Brahmanic and Buddhist rites were introduced into most of the national festivals and ceremonies Speaking of the festivals observed in Siam in the month of *Kārttika* Mr Gerini notes (1) the *Feasts of lamps* which is a counterpart of Hindu *Divāli* or *Dipāvali* and (2) the *Kārttikeya Festival*, which is a state ceremony recently abolished, in honour of Kārttikeya (or Skanda, the Hindu Mars, son of Siva) and which is attended with the *floating of lamps*, and *bon-fires* The *Siamese Divālī* is described by Mr Gerini as follows –

" *No. 20 Feast of lamps* (*Karttika*, 12th month)—This embraces *two distinct festivals* (1) the hoisting of *lamps on poles* on *new-moon day* and the lighting of them at night, till the second day of the waning, when they are lowered, (2) the *floating of lamps* in the streams at night on the *14th*, *15th* and *16th* days of the moon, with the eventual addition of *fire-works* This second form of illumination seems however, to be connected more especially with the festival hereafter explained (No. 21) On the other hand the *aerial lanterns* hoisted on poles, as aforesaid, are kept burning to scare away goblins as in time of epidemics (cf e. g. the *rakṣā-pradīpas*, and, it is believed, also to retain the water from draining off the paddy fields, for the ears of rice would not attain maturity if the yearly inundation were to abate so early. Hence the festival is a very popular one like its counterpart the *Diwālī* or *Dīpāwali* in India. They closely correspond although the *ākāśapradīpas* (lamps raised on poles in the air) are in India lighted in honour of *Lakṣmī*. We have here to do essentially

with a festival in honour of Visnu and his consort, for it is known that on the 11th day of the new moon of Kārttika the god awakes from his four months sleep, and that his victory over king Bali (*Vāmana avatāra*) took place at this season. ''

Mr Gerini does not record any history of the Siamese festivals, hence it is difficult to say at what time the Dīvāli festival originated in Siam and continued to be observed somewhat on the lines of the Hindu Dīvāli If the Siamese *Divālī* is a counterpart of the Hindu Divāli, its history is dependent on the history of the Hindu or Brahmanical Divālī, which we want to reconstruct in this paper

Resuming now our reconstruction of the history of the Hindu Divāli, I have to record here an interesting account of the Divālī Festival as recorded in a Maratha chronicle [1] which states —

" Mahadji Scindia (*A. D 1727-1794*) informed Peshwa Savai Mādhavarao (*A. D 1774-1795*) as follows —

'The Divālī festival is celebrated for 4 days at *Kotā*, [2] when lacs of lamps are lighted The Raja of *Kotā* during these 4 days gives a display of fire-works outside the premises of his capital. It is called " दारूची लंका " or " *Lankā of fire-works* " During this display the image of *Rāvana* is prepared and kept in the centre of the show Images of *Rāksasas*, monkeys and a big image of *Hanūmān* are all prepared of gunpowder [3] The tale of *Hanūmān* is then set fire to, and Hanumān begins to fly in the air, setting fire to various houses in this *Lankā* of fireworks. Such a display is given by the Raja of *Kotā* during the Divāli Festival'

The Peshwa ordered Mahādji to give a similar display of fireworks for his entertainment Mahādji made all preparations within 15 days and the display was carried out on a dark night

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[1] पेशव्याची बखर by Krishnaji Vinayak Sohoni, ed by K. N. Sane, A. B. Press, Poona, 1925, Page 149 (I have rendered the pertinent extract into English from the Marathi original). The author of this *Bakhar* was possibly born during the reign of Peshwa Savai Mādhava Rao (Vide p. 266 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S Chitrava, Poona, 1937)

[2] Modern *Kotah* State in Rajputāna.

[3] Vide my paper on *Guns and Gun-powder in India—A D 1400 onwards* in *Sir Denison Ross Volume*, ed by P K. Gode and S. M Katre, pp. 117-124

before the Peshwa and his Sardars. The display took place at the foot of the *Parvati* hill and was witnessed by the Peshwa and his Sardars from the *Parvati* temple It was a grand performance and was witnessed by the people of Poona in large numbers. "

The use of fire-works in the celebration of the *Divāli*, which is so common in India now, must have come into existence after about 1400 A. D. when gun-powder came to be used in Indian war-fare. It is necessary to record the history of the use of fire-works in Divālī celebrations prior to the Peshwa period.

In the references to *Divāli* in the *Hobson-Jobson* the earliest notice of the *Divālī* by a foreign observer is dated *A. D 1613*. Let us now go backwards from this date. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* [1] (about *A. D. 1590*) there is an account of *Festivals* in which we find the *Diwāli* described as follows :

" *Month of Kārtika*— The second, ninth, eleventh and twelfth are also festivals. The *thirteenth* is the *Dīpālī* or row of lamps (Hind. *Diwāli*) A difference occurs in the calculation of its date. According to the *Śuklapakṣa* computation it is as above stated but by the *Krsna-paksa* (Hind. *Aghan*-Nov -Dec.) and they, therefore, hold this festival on the 15th of the *Krsna-paksa* of *Kārtika*. Lamps are lit as on the (Muhammadan) festival of *Shāb-i-barāt*. It begins on the 29th and this night is considered auspicious for dicing and many strange traditions are told regarding it. It is the greatest of the festivals re the Vaiśya caste " [2]

Emperor Akbar " participated in the celebration of *Dīpāvali* or *Divāli*, the festival of lamps " (*Ain*, I, 216) [3]

From the 16th century we may now go to the *15th century* and see how the *Hindu Divāli* was celebrated within the jurisdiction of the Vijayanagar empire. In this connection Dr. B. A. Saletore has collected and recorded the following information about *Festivals, Games and amusements* in his volumes on *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire* (1934). In Vol. II (p. 387) he observes as follows :—

" Another celebration which evoked admiration from foreign travellers was the *Dīpāvali* festival held in the month of *Kārttika*.

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[1] Ed. by Jarrett, Vol II, 1894, Page 320

[2] " It is auspicious for all undertakings connected with commerce ".

[3] Vide p. 319 of *Ind. Histo Quarterly*, XIII (June, 1937).

This commemorates the victory which Visnu scored against the Asuras and Narakāsuras and since as they say it was won in the evening there is universal illumination of houses and temples in the land.[1]

Conti thus describes the *Dīpāvali* festival :— "On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside of the roofs an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni which are kept burning day and night"[2]

People gave contributions to the temples also for the celebration of these festivals. In about *A. D 1443* Govanna and Ballana sons of Śrīranga Deva of Aranipura in Kadalūr made a grant for the *cavitra festival of lights* in the temple of Channakeśvara according to former custom.[3] An inscription dated Śaka 1443 (*A D. 1521-22*) informs us that Sadāśiva Nāyaka provided ghee for *lamps* during the *festival of Tirukkārtigai* to the temple of Brhadambā at Devikkapuram for the merit of the chief (svāmī) Tirumalai Nāyaka.[4] In Śaka 1444 (1522-23) the daughter of Kannadiya Chief Devappudaiyar Marudarśar-Padaividū gave a gift of ghee for the same festival to the same temple "[5]

The inscriptional evidence about donations given by certain individuals for the expense of festival of lights or mere lights[6] in temples of specific gods and goddesses does not appear to refer to *Divāli* festival as such.[7] Conti's description of *Divāli* at Vijayanagar is, is however, sufficient for our purpose.

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[1] Śrī Kantaliyar, *IA*, XX, p 430, Suryanarayan Rao, *The City*, p. 11 For an account of the *Dīpāvali* Festival, Wilson, *IA*, XXVI, p. 308, Gupte, *IA*, XXXII, pp. 237-239

[2] Major India, p 28, Sewell, *For Emp.* p. 86.

[3] *E. C* V., p. 1, Hn 82, p 25

[4] 361 of 1912, Rangachari, Top List I. N. A. 162 p 49.

[5] 362 of 1912, Rangachari, *ibid*, N A 163, p. 50 Read Pietro della Valle's description.

[6] On p. 115 of his *Purānic Records* (Dacca, 1940) Dr Hazra observes — "The inscriptional evidences show that the gifts of *lamps to shrines* became popular in Southern India about the *end of the 9th century A. D.*" [*Ep Ind.* III, 1894-95, pp 281, 284, V, 42-44 and 104-106, VII (1902-03) 133 ff. and 138 ff. and so on. *JASB*, LXXII (1903) 120].

[7] My friend M. M Principal V. V. Mirashi writes to me on 23-7-1945 "As for *Divāli* The one description that I can just now recall occurs in an inscription found in *Chhattisgarh.* It is not dated but another inscription of the same reign is dated V. S 1570 (= *A. D 1514*). The inscription is not published but I have read the verse as follows —

(*continued on the next page*)

Students of the history of Indian art may be in a position to point out the representations of the *Divāli* festival in sculpture or painting. I may, however, record here one such representation of the *Jain Divāli*. It is found in the *Miniature Paintings*[1] *of the Jaina Kalpasūtra* executed in the Early Western Indian style) published by Norman Brown (Washington, 1934) p. 40, *Plate 25* Brown describes this painting as follows :—

" *Fig. 71* (Heeramaneek Galleries, Newyork—MS of *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* with 87 miniatures, not dated—*Probably 16th Century*)— The *Festival of Lights. KS*, 128 (Jacobi. *Jaina Sūtras*, S B E, Vol 22, Oxford, 1884, p 266), On the night when Mahāvīra died the 18 confederated kings instituted an illumination on the *Posadha* which was a fast day They said " *Since the light of holy knowledge is gone*, let us make a material illumination —Under a canopy are three males, probably typifying the 18 kings, holding *torches* The scene bears the legend दिवाली (festival of lights) and Jacobi (J tr. 266n) says that the Jainas celebrate the *nirvāna* of Mahāvīra with a festival of lights on the *New-Moon* of the month of *Kārttika* "

Some description of the *Divāli* as celebrated in the Deccan at *Kolhapur* in the *11th century* is found in the *story of King of Kollāpura* recorded by Merutunga in his *Prabandha-Cintāmani* (Trans. by C H Tawney, R A S.B., Calcutta, 1901) p 111 The author belonged to Vardhamānapura (*Vadhvān*) in Gujarat and

(*continued from the previous page*)

" यस्सम्यक् प्रतिकार्त्तिकम्प्रातिदिनं स्नात्वा ददात्यादरा-
द्रोदानंश्च तत. शृणोति माहत पुण्य पुराणादिकम् ।
दीपानामपि लक्षमक्षयफलप्राप्त्यै प्रयच्छत्यसौ
दुर्गाया निकटे महानयमत: श्री बाहरक्ष्मापति: ॥ "

I am thankful to Prin Mirashi for this valuable inscriptional reference

[1] I had inquired of Dr. H Goetz, Curator, Baroda Museum, if he could point out to me any paintings representing *Divāli* illuminations In reply Dr. Goetz informs me in his letter of 19-12-45 —

" As to *Divāli* illustrations, I can only say that there are many Mughal miniatures in the Baroda Museum showing illuminations by many small oil lamps, such as it is the practice at *Divāli* but I am not sure whether this is the only festival where this is done "

I take this opportunity of requesting other scholars to publish any information about the representations of *Divāli* either in painting or sculpture that may come to their notice.

composed this book of Narratives in *Samvat 1361* (= *A. D. 1305*). I note the following points from Merutunga's story referred to above :—

(1) Some bards were celebrating the glory of King *Siddharāja* of Gujarat (A. D. 1093–1143) at the court of the *Kollāpur King*, who doubted this glory and required some proofs for Siddharāja's skill in magic mentioned by the bards

(2) The above doubt of the Kollāpur King was reported to Siddharāja, who found an officer of his court ready to go to Kollāpur to prove Siddharāja's skill in magic Siddharāja gave 3 lacs of rupees to this officer, who went to Kollāpur and stayed there for some days.

(3) " When the night of the *Diwālī* festival was near and the wives of the King of that city came to his palace in order to worship the goddess[1] *Mahālakṣmī*, that officer, having assumed the disguise of a magician, adorned with all those paraphernalia, and being accompanied by a certain Barbara who had carefully practised flying in the air, suddenly appeared on the pedestal of the goddess He offered an oblation of gold, jewels and camphor to the goddess and distributed to the King's wives betel similarly adorned and left-there a *magic garment* marked with the name of King *Siddha*, pretending that it was a religious gift, and mounting on the back of Barbara flew up into the air and so returned as he came. When the night came to an end the King was informed by his wives of this act of the hostile monarch and being bewildered with fear he sent back that present to King *Siddha* by the hands of his ministers Then that officer quickly hurried through the business of buying and selling his wares, and so on, and sent a message to his king by a swift runner, that he was not to grant an audience to those ministers until his arrival. After that he arrived there in a few days The king, having been informed of the real state of the case took such steps to win over those ministers as occasion demanded. "

Whatever be the truth of the above story it gives us a historical illustration of the association of magical performances with the

1 Vide my paper on the *Iconography of Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur* (*B.I S Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, Vol. XXIII, 1942, pp 17–25.

Divāli night, so graphically described by Mrs. Stevenson in the extract already reproduced by me The *Śilāhara* kings were ruling at Kolhapur at the time of king Siddharāja of Gujarat (A. D 1093-1143) The goddess *Mahālaksmī* was their tutelary deity and they called themselves "श्रीमहालक्ष्मीदेवीलब्धवरप्रसाद" in their inscriptions. The *Sarasvatipurāna* mentions that Siddharāja installed the images of *Mahālakṣmī* on the bank of the *Sahasralinga* lake constructed by him as I have shown in my paper on *Mahalaksmi* (*B. I S Mandal Quarterly, 1942*)

From Merutunga's reference to *Divāli* at Kolhapur in his work of *A D. 1304* we go to the Marathi work *Jñāneśvari* completed in *A. D 1290* by the great Saint of Mahārāṣtra, *Srī Jñāneśvara.* In this work *Divālī* is referred to as follows (see *Jñāneśvarī* ed. by B A Bhide, Bombay, 1928) —

Pages 106-107 — मां अविवेकाची काजळी ।
फेडूनि विवेकदीप उजळीं ।
ते योगियां पाहे दिवाळी । निरंतर ॥ ५४ ॥"

Page 983 — "सूर्ये अधिष्ठिली प्राची ।
जगा राणीव दे प्रकाशाची ।
तेवि वाचा श्रोतयां ज्ञानाची । दिवाळी करी ॥ १२ ॥"

Though used in metaphors by *Śrī Jñāneśvara* the above usages of word दिवाळी vividly bring to our mind the illuminations of the *Divālī* festival as current in the Mahārāṣtra in the 13th century

To supplement the above reference to *Divāli* by Jñāneśvara we have a very elaborate description of the celebration of the *Divāli* festival in the *Mahānubhāva* text in Marathi (composed about *A. D. 1250* called *Līlā-Caritra* (ed. by H. N Nene) Nagpur, Part III *Pūrvārdha*, Khanda 2, 1937) pp 116 ff. As the passage is too long for reproduction I note some points from it below :—

(1) This is a description of *Divāli* not in an aristocratic circle, but by *Cakradhara*,[1] the founder of the *Mahānubhāva* sect and his *Gosāvī* pupils.

(2) This *Divālī* was observed at हिवरळी (आलना).

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[1] Vide pp 350-354 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S Chitrav, Poona, 1937 The dates for Cakradhara as given here are "*A D 1194-1273*" Cakradhara founded the Mahānubhāva Sect in *Śaka 1190* (= 1268 A. D.) at *Paiṭhaṇ*, after having embraced *Sanyāsa*

(2) महादाई, the woman—disciple of Cakradhara, managed all the work connected with this *Divāli*.

(4) On the evening of the earlier day she stored sufficient water for bath of the entire party of the *Gosāvis*, who bathed next morning, getting up at dawn for this purpose. Plenty of oil was used for rubbing the bodies before this bath by the Gosāvis and other devotees of Cakradhara.

(5) After bath महादाई waved lights in a tray in front of these Gosāvis and others (वोवाळणी जाली) who then took betel, and pān (तांबोळ) Dinner was given to the party by महादाई, who was helped by another lady उमाई in this work.

(6) भाऊबीज was observed on the following day when महादाई acted as sister to all the *Gosāvis* She prepared nice dishes for their dinner such as मोदक, आइत, लाडू, सेव etc.

The *Bhāu-bīja* day observed by the *Gosāvis* is observed even to-day. It falls on *Kārtika Śuddha 2* (*dvitīyā*) i. e. on the day following the *Divāli* This festival is concerned with sisters who feast their brothers on this day. It is called *Yamadvitīyā* in Sanskrit and Hemādri (A. D. 1260) the contemporary of *Cakradhara* describes it in detail in his compendium called the *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*.[1] This description is contained in an

[1] Ed in *Bib Indica*, Calcutta, 1878—See *Vrata Khanda* Chap VI, pp. 384-386.—The extract about यमद्वितीया व्रत from the *Bhaviṣyottara* reads as follows —

" कार्त्तिके शुक्लपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां युधिष्ठिर ।
यमो यमुनया पूर्वं भोजितः स्वगृहे सदा ॥
द्वितीयायां महोत्सर्गे नारकीयाश्च तर्पिताः ।
पापेभ्योऽपि विमुक्तास्ते मुक्ताः सर्वनिबन्धनात् ॥
भशिताश्चातिसंतुष्टाः स्थिताः सर्वे यदृच्छया ।
तेषां महोत्सवो वृत्त. यमराष्ट्रसुखावहः ।
अतो यमद्वितीया सा प्रोक्ता लोके युधिष्ठिर ।
अस्यां निजगृहे पार्थ न भोक्तव्यमतो बुधैः ॥
स्नेहेन भगिनी हस्ताद्भोक्तव्य पुष्टिवर्द्धनम् ।
दानानि च प्रदेयानि भगिनीभ्यो विधानतः ॥
स्वर्णालंकारवस्त्राणि पूजासत्कारभोजनैः । "

In Ṛgvedi's book on *Āryan Festivals* already referred to by me the यमद्वितीया or भाऊबीज is described on pp. 297-298. He merely states that the story of यम and his sister यमुना is mentioned in the *Purāṇas* but does not give any exact reference to it.

extract from the *Bhavisyottara Purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri The practices prescribed in the extract are current at present in Mahārāṣṭra.

In a *Kannada* Inscription [1] of *A. D 1119* (11th May) of the reign of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla there is a reference to *Dipāvali* day. (One) "Kāvarāja made a gift of one *gadyāna* out of the two *gadyānas* which the Mahājanas used to pay him, as a present on every *Dipāvali* day for the service of *Nileśvaradeva*".

I have already recorded references to *Divāli* from two Marathi sources viz. the *Jñāneśvarī* (*A D. 1290*) and the *Līlācaritra* (*C. A. D 1250*). I shall record another reference to *Divāli* in an astronomical work called the *Jyotisaratnamālā* [2] by Śrīpatī, which was composed about *Śaka 961* (*A D 1039*) according to its editor the Mahārāṣṭra historian, Visvanātha Kāshināthа Rajawade, who thinks that both the Sanskrit text and its Marathi commentary are the work of Śrīpatī himself. The word दिवाळी occurs in the Marathi commentary on a Sanskrit stanza as will be seen from the following stanza :—

Page 95— " माघे पंचदशि कृष्णा नभस्ये च त्रयोदशी ।
तृतीया माधवे शुक्ला नवम्युर्जे युगादयः ॥ १३ ॥ "

The commentary on this stanza reads as follows :—

" माघमासिची अमावास्या शिरात्रि भाद्रपदमासचा कृष्णपक्षि त्रयोदशु अर्द्धपक्षि वैशाषमासि शुक्ला तृतीया : अक्षतृतीया : कार्तिक शुक्ल नवमी दिवाळि वितल्या : या तिथि ४ युगादि म्हाणिजं ॥ "

At present the *Divāli* day is the 1st day of Kārttika Śukla pakṣa, while according to Śrīpatī (about A. D. 1030) it appears

[1] Vide *Kannada Inscriptions from the Madras Presidency* (South Indian Inscriptions Texts, Vol. IX, Part I) ed. by Shamashastri and Lakshmīnārāyaṇa Rao, 1939, *Page 195*—Inscription No 198

See also *Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 337 -- Yewur inscription of *A. D 1179* of the time of Sankamadeva The date recorded gives (1) *Vikārin* year, (3) New Moon day of *Aśvayuja*, (3) *Somavāra*, and (4) महापर्व (allusion is apparently to दीपावलि according to Dr. Fleet (Vide p 257 of *Kadambakula* by Prof Moraes -- दीपावलि extended from आश्विन कृष्ण १४ to कार्तिक शु. १.)

[2] Vide भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ ग्रन्थमाला (No 8)— द्वितीय संमेलनवृत्त (शक १८३६ — 1914, Poona) — श्रीपतीकृत मराठी ज्योतिषरत्नमाला (शक ९६१ सुमार) p. 95

to have been celebrated before "कार्तिक शुक्ल नवमी". I request the students of Indian Astronomy to throw some light on this question from the texts on Indian Astronomy.

In the Marathi poem by the Mahānubhāva poet Narendra-Kavi, called the रुक्मिणी-स्वयंवर [1] composed in *Śaka 1213* (*A. D 1292*) we find the following references to the *Divāli* —

Page 90— Description of *Dvārakā*

> " कीं आनंद-दिवाळियेचें तेजः ।
> की आकाशीं जोतिचें जोळ हों काज ।
> की गगनासि वाइलें भोज : यादव-प्रतापाचें " ७१२

Page 94— Description of Vasanta (spring-time)

> " कीं तं संभोग-सुखाची दिवाळी :
> विरहिणी धेंढवाळिया होति काजळी
> जित-इंद्रियें हारवीति तिये वेळीं : जूं वैराग्याचें " ७३८

Prof. Kolate has explained the metaphor in this stanza pertaining to the *Divāli* referred to by the poet in his notes at the end of the volume. He explains the word धेंढवाळी as कोलीत or मशाल on page 141 while on page 230 धेंडेवाळी is explained as lamps lighted during the *Divāli* festival on the top of a big heap of grass. [2]

While explaining the above reference to दिवाळी Prof. Kolate has drawn our attention to the following reference to दिवाळी in the *Jñāneśvarī* —

Chap. VI (*Ovī 389* - p 135 of Bhide's edition)

> "तैसें होय तिये मेळीं । मग सामरस्याचिया राउळीं ।
> महासुखाची दिवाळी । जगेंसि दिसे ॥ ३८९ ॥ "

We have already pointed out two references to दिवाळी in *Jñāneśvarī*, to which the above one may now be added.

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[1] Critically edited by Prof V. B, Kolate, King Edward College, Amraoti, (अरुण प्रकाशन, Malkapur, Berar) 1940.

[2] Ibid, p. 230—" धेंडेवाळी = दिवाळीच्या दिवसांत गवताचा एक उंच भारा बांधतात आणि त्यावर दिवे लावतात "

Before I proceed to note the references to *Divālī* in sources earlier than those referred to above I shall record its fairly detailed description in Sanskrit given in an encyclopaedic work called the आकाशभैरवकल्प which appears to be a reflection of the social and religious practices of the Vijayanagar Empire (between say A. D. 1450 and 1550).[1] This is a description of a royal[2] *Divālī* and hence stands in contrast with the *Divālī* celebrated by Cakradhara and his Gosāvīs. This description reads as follows in the B. O. R Institute *MS No, 43 of 1925-26* of आकाशभैरवकल्प :-

Page 217 — 67th Patala describing नरकचतुर्दशी.

" श्री शिवः— अथान्यद्दाश्विने मासि कर्तव्यं कर्म राजभिः ।
वक्ष्यामि सर्वपापघ्नमलक्ष्मीविनिवारकम् ॥ १ ॥
रूपसौभाग्यसन्तानसंपत्सारस्वतप्रदम् ।
साम्राज्यदं विजयदं विशेषेण महीभुजाम् ॥ २ ॥
सर्वशत्रुक्षयकरं गंगास्नानफलप्रदम् ।
अश्विने मासि कृष्णायां चतुर्दश्यान्नृपोत्तमः ॥ ३ ॥
ब्राह्मे मुहुर्ते उत्थाय कृतशौचक्रियः शुचिः ।
प्रक्षाल्य पादावाचम्य दन्तधावनपूर्वकम् ॥ ४ ॥
पुरोहितान्पुरस्कृत्य सभार्यान् द्विजपुंगवान् ।
कांश्चिदाहूय संपूज्य तान् गंधकुसुमादिभिः ॥ ५ ॥
दत्त्वा तद्विजवर्येभ्यः तांबूलानि फलानि च ।
तैराशीरक्षतान् दत्तानादायांजलिना नृपः ॥ ६ ॥
धृत्वा शिरसि चाभ्यंगानिमित्तं तैलमुत्तमम् ।
दत्त्वा तद्विजमुख्येभ्यो नत्वा कृत्वा प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ ७ ॥
पुनः प्रस्थाप्य तान् विप्रान् तत्परं पृथिवीपतिः ।
हेमपीठे समासीनः प्राङ्मुखः प्रयतः शुचि ॥ ८ ॥
नदत्सु पंचवाद्येषु बाह्यकक्षान्तरे ततः ।
क्वणत्कंकणया वध्वा दरवल्गदुरोजया ॥ ९ ॥

[1] Vide my paper in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. V (1938) Part I, pp. 7-18.

[2] The *Śukranītisāra* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1882) chap. IV deals with लोकधर्मनिरूपण, in which the King is enjoined to build temples of several deities and arrange for their annual festivals .—

P. 372— " एवंविधान् नृपो राष्ट्रे देवान् संस्थापयेत् सदा ।
प्रतिसंवत्सरे तेषां उत्सवान् सम्यगाचरेत् ॥ २०२ ॥ "

अभ्यक्तः स्नापितो मल्लैः कैश्चित्कोष्णेन वारिणा ।
धृत्वा धौतांबरं दिव्यं स्वर्णतन्वञ्चिताञ्चलम् ॥ १० ॥
इत्येवं मङ्गलं स्नानं कृत्वा प्रागुदयाद्रवेः ।
पश्चात् सूर्योदयादूर्ध्वं पुण्ड्रं धृत्वा महीपतिः ॥ ११ ॥
कर्म तत्कालकर्तव्यं नित्यं निर्वर्त्य तत्परम् ।
स्वेष्टदेवं समभ्यर्च्य गंधपुष्पैर्यथाविधि ॥ १२ ॥
अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थं दत्वा दीपत्रयं नृपः ।
सदाक्षिणं द्विजातिभ्यस्तेन नीराजितः पुनः ॥ १३ ॥
सखड्गस्साशिरस्त्राणः सर्वाभरणभूषितः ।
आस्थानकूटमासाद्य सर्वतस्समलंकृतम् ॥ १४ ॥
सपुत्रपौत्रस्सामात्यः सभृत्यपरिचारकः ।
सिंहासने समासीनः श्वेतछत्रेण चारुणा ॥ १५ ॥
वधूविधूयमानाभ्यां चामराभ्यां विराजितः ।
आस्थानवर्तिनां राज्ञां मन्त्रिणां च पुरोधसाम् ॥ १६ ॥
सामन्तराजपुत्राणां विबुधानां विनोदिनाम् ।
कवीनां गायकानां च योगिनां च नियोगिनाम् ॥ १७ ॥
नटानां नर्तकानां च गणकानां द्विमाद्रिजे ।
तथैव गणिकानां च तत्तद्योगवर्तिनाम् ॥ १८ ॥
शिरःकम्पेन केषांचित् केषांचिद्दवलोकनैः ।
मन्दस्मितेन केषांचित् केषांचित् वाग्विलासतः ॥ १९ ॥
आलोकशब्दैः केषांचित् वेत्रपाणिसमीरितैः ।
संभावयन् यथायोग्यमात्मदर्शनमद्रिजे ॥ २० ॥
मुहूर्तमात्रमासीनस्तस्मिन् सिंहासने नृपः ।
तत्परं तस्सभास्तास्तैरर्पितान्यंवराणि वै ॥ २१ ॥
गन्धकुंकुमकस्तूरीतांबूलानि यथोचितम् ।
दापयित्वासनात् तस्मादवरुह्यास्नयोः करौ ॥ २२ ॥
अवलंब्य प्रविश्यान्तःपुरं स्त्रीरत्नसंकुलम् ।
पुत्रपौत्रैः परिवृतः भुक्त्वान्नममृतोपमम् ॥ २३ ॥
ततः स्वीकृत्य तांबूलं अवरोधजनैस्सह ।
नीत्वा सरससल्लापैः तदहः शेषमद्रिजे ॥ २४ ॥
ततः सेवार्थमागत्य बाह्यकक्षान्तरस्थितान् ।
सामन्तराजपुत्रादीन् समाहूयाथ तैस्सह ॥ २५ ॥

निशामुखे बाणविद्यां[1] हृयानालोक्य तत्परम् ।
विशालां प्राप्य नृपतिर्नाट्यशालां च तैस्सह ॥ २६ ॥
नाट्यं नटीभिरारब्धं नानाभिनयमंजुलम् ।
वीणामुरजनिस्साणमृदङ्गवाद्यनिनादितम् ॥ २७ ॥
दृष्ट्वा प्रस्थाप्य तान् सर्वान् प्रविश्यान्त.पुरन्नृपः ।
पुत्रपौत्रान्वितः श्रीमान् भुक्त्वा मधुरपूर्वकम् ॥ २८ ॥
हंसतूलीविरचितशय्यायां शयितस्सुखम् ।
कुर्वन् सरससल्लापान्महिष्या सह पार्थिवः ॥ २९ ॥
तदर्पितानि तांबूलीदलान्याकुचितानि त्रै ।
आददानस्तयासाकमानन्दानुभवी भवेत् ॥ ३० ॥
इत्येवं देवि, नरकचतुर्दश्यां नृपोत्तमैः ।
कर्तव्यं कर्म कथितं मया संग्रहतस्तत्र ॥ ३१ ॥

इत्याकाशभैरवाख्ये महाशिवतन्त्रे साम्राज्यपीठिकायां नरकचतुर्दशी-
कर्तव्यमहोत्सवस्वरूपकथनं नाम सप्तषष्टितमः पटलः ।"

Page 22— *68th Patala* describing दीपावली-उत्सव

" श्री शिवः--अथ तत्कार्तिके मासि दीपावल्यां महाभुजा ।
यत्कर्तव्यं पृथुश्रोणि वक्ष्यामि तत्र सांप्रतम् ॥ १ ॥
कार्तिकस्य सिते पक्षे या तिथिः प्रतिपत् स्मृता ।
दीपावलीति विज्ञेया सा सर्वा शुभदायिनी ॥ २ ॥
तस्यां तिथौ नृप· प्रातरुत्थाय शयनात्प्रिये ।
कृतशौचक्रियस्सम्यक् कृत्वा वै दन्तधावनम् ॥ ३ ॥
नित्यकर्म विनिर्वर्त्य तत्कालोचितमद्रिजे ।
उपास्य भास्करं राजा ततस्संगत आगते ॥ ४ ॥
पुरोहितं पुरस्कृत्य तदाशीभिर्विवर्धितः ।
स्वेष्टदेवं हृदि ध्यायन् पीठे रत्नमये शुभे ॥ ५ ॥

[1] बाणविद्या means here display of *Fire-works*. Abdur Razak who stayed in Vijayanagar from *April 1443 to 5th December 1443* mentions the use of *pyrotechny* or fire-works at the महानवमी festival (See Elliot. *History of India*, IV, pp. 117-118). The present reference to बाणविद्या at *Divali* festival is important as it is one of the earliest references in Sanskrit sources referring to the use of fire-works at Hindu festivals. In the आकाशभैरवकल्प there is a reference to *gun* on *folio 189* as follows .—

" अयोविंशो नालिकास्त्रं ". Here नालिका means a *gun* (See also my paper on *Guns and Gun-powder in India* in *Sir E. Denison Ross Volume*, pp. 117-124).

स्वासीनः प्राङ्मुखो देवि वाद्यघोषपुरस्सरम् ।
अभ्यक्तो गन्धतैलेन स्नापितः कोष्णवारिणा ॥ ६ ॥
धौतांबरधरः कालदेशे धृत्वोर्ध्वपुण्ड्रकम् ।
निर्वर्त्य नित्यकर्माथ तत् कालोचितमद्रिजे ॥ ७ ॥
स्वेष्टदेवं समाराध्य गन्धपुष्पाक्षतादिभिः ।
अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थं लक्ष्म्याश्च स्थैर्यसिद्धये ॥ ८ ॥
लक्ष्मीनारायणप्रीत्यै दत्वा दीपत्रयं नृपः ।
सदक्षिणान्द्विजातिभ्यस्तेन नीराजितः पुनः ॥ ९ ॥
सपुत्रपौत्रस्सामात्यः सर्वाभरणभूषितः ।
आस्थानशालामासाद्य राज्ञामास्थानवर्तिनाम् ॥ १० ॥
सर्वेषां दर्शनं दत्वा यथोचितमगात्मजे ।
गन्धकस्तूरिकादीनि दत्वा भूमिपुरंदरः ॥ ११ ॥
मुहूर्तमात्रमासीनो भूपतिः कनकासने ।
तत्परं तान्नृपवरान् प्रस्थाप्यान्तःपुरं नृपः ॥ १२ ॥
प्रविश्य देवि साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं संपूज्य सादरम् ।
कान्ताजनेन कर्पूरदीपनीराजितोऽद्रिजे ॥ १३ ॥
भुक्त्वा मुहूर्तं सुप्त्वाऽथ सायंकाले समागते ।
मल्लयुद्धादिकं दृष्ट्वा तत्परं तु निशामुखे ॥ १४ ॥
नगरे देवतागारेष्वालयेषु सभासु च ।
चत्वरेषु तु रम्येषु गोपुराट्टालकेषु च ॥ १५ ॥
हर्म्येषु चातिरम्येषु सौधेष्वत्युन्नतेषु च ।
विशालासु वरारोहे चन्द्रशालासु सर्वतः ॥ १६ ॥
भूपालास्थानकूटेषु कक्ष्यासु विविधासु च ।
नाट्यशालासु रम्यासु वीथीषु च विशेषतः ॥ १७ ॥
विन्यस्य विविधान् दीपान् किंकरांस्तु कृतश्रमान् ।
गन्धताम्बूलवस्त्राद्यैर्बहुमान्य महीपतिः ॥ १८ ॥
तत्सर्वं दीपनिवहं श्रिये जातेति मन्त्रतः ।
महालक्ष्म्यै नरपतिः समर्प्य तदनन्तरम् ॥ १९ ॥
सिंहासने स्वकीयानि भूषणानि निधाय च ।
जलपूर्णं स्वर्णकुंभं पल्लवाद्यैरलंकृतम् ॥ २० ॥
तण्डुलोपरि विन्यस्य तत्रावाह्य बलिं प्रभुम् ।
वक्ष्यमाणप्रकारेण ध्यायेद्राजा महाबलिं ॥ २१ ॥

ध्यायेद्बलिं महाकायं सर्वाभरणभूषितम् ।
तपसाहृत देवेन्द्र वैभवं विष्णुवल्लभम् ॥ २२ ॥
खड्ग चर्मधरं स्वर्णकान्तिकान्तासमान्वितम् ।
शुक्राद्यमात्यसहितं दैत्यदानवसेवितम् ॥ २३ ॥
एवं ध्यात्वार्चयेत्सम्यक् नाममन्त्रेण तं बलिम् ।
ततः पुष्पांजलिं दद्यात् वक्ष्यमाणैस्तु नामभिः ॥ २४ ॥
बलीन्द्रः प्रह्लादपौत्रो विरोचनसुतस्ततः ।
महेन्द्रमर्दनो दानवाधीशो विष्णुभक्तकः ॥ २५ ॥
विभवप्रद इत्येतैर्दत्वा पुष्पांजलिं ततः ।
प्रार्थयेत्स्वाभिलषितं मन्त्रेणानेन पार्थिवः ॥ २६ ॥
यथा त्वं सर्वलोकानामधिपोस्य सुरेश्वर ।
तथा मे कुरु सौभाग्यं यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥ २७ ॥
इति संप्रार्थ्य विप्रेभ्यो दद्याद्वित्तानुसारतः ।
सुवर्णं रजतं मुक्तामणींश्च विविधानपि ॥ २८ ॥
मित्रामबन्धुमुख्येभ्यो दद्याद्धर्षसमन्वितः ।
कर्पूरशकलैस्सार्धं तांबूलानि विशेषतः ॥ २९ ॥
एव कृत्वा नरपतिर्दीपावल्युत्सवं प्रियं ।
सर्वदानैश्च यत्पुण्यं यत्पुण्यमखिलाध्वरैः ॥ ३० ॥
तत्पुण्यं समवाप्नोति नात्र कार्या विचारणा ।
एवं ते देवि कथितो दीपावल्योत्सवो महान् ॥ ३१ ॥
आयुरारोग्यविजयसंपत्सारस्वतप्रदः ।

इत्याकाशभैरवाख्ये महाशैवतन्त्रे साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीपीठिकायां दीपा-
वल्युत्सवस्वरूपकथनं नामसप्तषष्टितमः पटलः ॥

The two chapters reproduced above contain quite a colourful picture of the *royal Divālī* celebrated on two days viz. (1) आश्विन कृष्ण चतुर्दशी and (2) कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्. This is *Divālī* as observed in the South of India between say A.D. 1400 and 1600. I now continue my story of *Divālī* and come to the extreme North of India and record a short description of *Divālī* given by a Muslim writer Abdul Rahamān in an *Apabhraṁśa* poem called the संदेशरासक[1]

[1] Ed. by Jinavijayaji and Bhayani, Bhāratīya Vidyābhavan, Bombay, 1945, page 71. In the *Preface* (p. 12) Muni Jinavijayaji infers that संदेशरासक "must have been composed during the reign of Siddharāja or Kumārapāla i. e. in the latter half of the 12th century or at the latest the first half of the 12th century of the Vikrama era."

in which we find a description of the month of *Kārttika* and the *Dipāvalī* night (जोइक्खिहि) as follows :—

" दिंतिय णिसि दीवालिय दीवय
णवससिरेहसरिस करि लीअय ।
मंडिय भुवण तरुण जोइक्खिहिं
महिलिय दिंति सलाइय अक्खिहिं ॥ १७६ ॥ "

Mr Bhayani observes on p. 90 of his critical Introduction :—

" On the *Dipāvalī* night mansions were decorated with lights resembling the crescent moon. Ladies applied collyrium to their eyes (176)".

The commentary called टिप्पनक on the above passage reads as follows —

अथ कार्तिकवर्णनम्---" नार्यः दीपान् नवशशिरेखासदृशान् करे गृहीत्वा निशि ददन्ति। तज्ज्योतिष्कैः दीपैः भुवनानि मण्डितानि। अन्यच्च नार्य्यः तेषां दीपानां कज्जलं शलाकया कृत्वा नेत्रेषु ददन्ति ॥ १७६ ॥ "

Illumination of houses on the Divāli night by Hindu ladies is aptly described by this Muslim writer who belonged to *Multān*[1] (मूलत्थाणु) in the Punjab. He was well versed in *Sanskrit*, *Prakrit* and *Apabhraṁśa* He must have mastered these languages at some seat of Hindu Culture (perhaps it was Multan).

From the above description of *Divalī* in the Punjab of C. A. D. 1150 we now go to Alberuni's description of *Divāli* of *C. A D. 1030*. In Alberuni's remarks[2] " on the Festivals and Festive days " of the Hindus he describes the *Divāli* festival as follows :-

" 1st *Kārtika* or new moon's day, when the sun marches in Libra is called *Divāli*, Then people bathe, dress festively, make presents to each other of betel leaves and areca nuts ; they ride to the temples to give alms and play merrily with each other till noon. In the night they light a great number of lamps in every place so that the air is perfectly clear. The cause of this festival

[1] See p. 753 of *World Pictorial Gazetteer* by Hammerton — Multan stands on the river Chenab. It is about 190 miles S. W. of Lahore. Principal Buildings are two Mahomedan Shrines and the remains of an old Hindu temple. A great trading centre (shawls and carpets.)

[2] Vide p 182 of Vol II of *Alberuni's India*, ed. by E. C. Sachau, London, -- Chap LXXVI

is that *Lakṣmī* the wife of *Vāsudeva* once a year on this day liberates *Bali*, the son of *Virocana*, who is a prisoner in the seventh earth. Therefore, the festival is called *Balirājya* i. e. the principality of *Bali*. The Hindus maintain that this time was a time for luck in *Kṛtayuga* and they are happy because the feast day in question resembles that time in the *Kṛtayuga*."

In our search for the lights of the *Divālī* we have traversed a period about 950 years and moved from the south of India to its extreme north. We stand on the threshold of antiquity at about 1000 A D.[1] and try to see if we can cross this threshold and notice any lights of the *Divālī* in the inner apartments of the Indian history.

About 90 years before Alberuni's description of the Hindu Divāli in North India we find a brilliant poetic description of *Divālī* in the *Yaśastilaka campū* of Somadevasūri composed in *Śaka 881* (A. D. *959*). About this description my friend Dr. V. Raghavan makes the following remarks in his *Gleanings from Somadevasūri's Yaśastilaka-campū* " (p. 379 of *Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, May 1944 – Vol. I, part 3) :-

" Pp. 597–99 (*Kāvyamālā* 70. Bombay, 1901) — The *Mahānavamī* festival is followed by the *Dīpotsava*. Houses are white-washed and decorated with white festoons ; music, merry-making and gambling go on ; the tops of houses are bright with rows of lights. This festival is in the *Śarat* season. "

The text of the *Divālī* description reads as follows :—

"—इति विजयजैत्रायुधमागधाविबोधितलक्ष्मीं महानवमीं[2] निर्वर्त्य ।

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[1] In a Chinese poem on the *Lantern Festival* (of the first full Moon) by *Au-yang Hsin* (*A. D. 1007–1072*) we get a parallel of our *Divālī* (Vide p. 394 of *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, (November, 1939). I quote a stanza from this poem :-

" Last year at the *Lantern Festival*
The flower-market lights were bright as day,
When the moon mounted to the tops of the willows,
Two lovers kept their tryst after the yellow dusk "

[2] The महानवमी festival was celebrated on a huge scale during the time of the Vijayanagar Empire. It is called नवरात्र at present. It begins on आश्विन शुक्ल प्रतिपद् and ends on आश्विन शुक्ल ९, followed by शुक्ल १० which is विजया-दशमी (दसरा), which is again followed by the *Divālī* on कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् (See p. 267–284) of आर्यांच्या सणाचा इतिहास by *Ṛgvedī*.

तथा--

हंसावली द्विगुणकेतुसितांशुकश्रीः
पद्मावतंसरमणीरमणीयसारः ।
प्रासादसारितसुधाद्युतिदिप्तदिक्को
दीपोत्सवस्तव तनोतु मुदं महीश ॥ ४६२ ॥

द्यूतोन्मादितकामिनीजितधृतप्राणेशचाटूत्कटः
क्रीडाद्वारविलासिनीजनभवद्भूषाविकल्पोद्भटः ।
आतोद्यध्वनिमङ्गलारवभरव्याजृम्भिताशामुखः
प्रीतिं पूर्ण मनोरथस्य भवत. पुष्यात्प्रदीपोत्सवः ॥ ४६३ ॥

आभान्त्य खर्वशिखराग्रविटङ्कपालि-
दीपावली द्युतिधृतपुरसौधबन्धाः ।
प्रन्यङ्गसगतमहौषधिदीप्तदेहा-
स्त्वां सेवितुं कुलनगा इव दत्तयात्राः ॥ ४६४ ॥

इति सूनासूक्तसूचितावमरां दीपोत्सवश्रियं चानुभूय । etc. ''

From the above description of *Divāli* by a Southern writer of C. A. D 950 we go to a Kashmirian text "*not later than 6th or 7th century A. D.*" viz. the नीलमतपुराण[1] in which I find the following description of *Divāli* .—

Page 42 (Lahore Edition, 1924)—

तथा पक्षे व्यतीते तु कर्तव्या सुखसुप्तिका ॥ ५०५ ॥
पञ्चदश्यां यथा विप्र तथा मे गदतः शृणु ।
तस्यां दिवा न भोक्तव्यं बालातुरजनं विना ॥ ५०६ ॥
सूर्ये त्वस्तमनुप्राप्ते पूजयित्वा करीषिणीम् ।
दीपवृक्षास्ततो देयाः देवतायतनेषु च ॥ ५०७ ॥
चतुष्पथश्मशानेषु नदीपर्वतवेश्मसु ।
वृक्षमूलेषु गोष्ठेषु चत्वरेष्वापणेषु च ॥ ५०८ ॥
वस्त्रैश्चैवापणाः सर्वे कर्तव्याश्चोपशोभिताः ।
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्ते प्रदेशे तदनन्तरम् ॥ ५०९ ॥
स्वलंकृतैश्च भोक्तव्यं द्विजेन्द्र नववाससा ।
सुहृद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैः सार्धं बंधुभिश्चानुयायिभिः ॥ ५१० ॥

1 Ed. by Ramlal and Zaddoo, Lahore, 1924 — p. 7 of Introduction. — See also Winternitz *History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta, 1927) Vol. I, p. 583 — Kalhaṇa (about *1148* A D) drew on this Purāṇa He regarded it as a venerable *Purāna*. "*It must be several centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's* work" (राजतरङ्गिणी).

ततः माघे द्वितीयेह्नि स्वनुलिप्तैः स्वलंकृतैः ।
क्रीडितव्यं तथा द्यूतैः श्रोतव्यं गीतवादितम् ॥ ५११ ॥
विशेषवस्त्र भोक्तव्यैः पूर्वोक्तैस्तैर्जनैस्सह ।
तस्मिन् द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरः शुभः ॥ ५१२ ॥
तस्यां रात्रौ तु कर्तव्यं शय्यास्थानं सुशोभितः ।
गन्धैर्वस्त्रैस्तथा धूपैः रत्नैश्चैवाभिलंकृतम् ॥ ५१३ ॥
दीपमालापरिक्षिप्तं तथा धूपेन धूपितम् ।
दयिताभिश्च सहितैः तैर्नेया सा निशा भवेत् ॥ ५१४ ॥
पूज्या नूतनवासोभिः सुहृत्संबंधिबांधवाः ।
ब्राह्मणा भृत्यवर्गाश्च चन्द्रदेव यथाविधि ॥ ५१५ ॥
इति नी० कार्तिकामाग्यां दीपमालावर्णनम् ।"

The above passage corresponds to verses 398 to 407 in the Critical Edition of the *Nilamata* by K. S. J. M. de Vreede published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1936 (pp. 36–37).

From the description of *Dīpamālā* in the *Nīlamata Purāna* of Kashmir composed in the "*6th or 7th century A. D.*" we turn to the play *Nāgānanda*[1] of Śrī Harsa, who is supposed to be identical with Harsavardhana of Kanauj, the reputed author of two other plays viz. *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*, who ruled between *A. D. 606 and 648* In Act IV of *Nāgānanda* I find a reference[2] to *Divālī* in the following extract :—

" प्रतिहार-- अहमपि महाराजविश्वावसुना समादिष्टः । यथा सुनन्द गच्छ मित्रावसुं ब्रूहि । अस्मिन् दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे मलयवत्या जामातुश्चैतदुत्सवानुरूपं यत्किंचित् प्रदीयते । तदागत्य निरूप्यताम् इति । तद्गच्छतु राजपुत्रीसकाशमार्यः । अहमपि युवराजमित्रावसोरानयनाय गच्छामि ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तौ)

In their notes[3] on the expression "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" the editors observe · "This seems to be a festival held on the first day of

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1 Ed. by G. B. Brahme and S. M. Paranjpe.
2 Ibid. pp. 61–62.
3 Ibid *Notes*, p. 51.

the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*[1] and celebrated with illuminations, our *Divālī*." I think the cumulative effect of the history of *Divālī* reconstructed by me so far will warrant the above identification of दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव with our *Divālī* festival.

All modern annotators and editors[2] of the *Nāgānanda* equate "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव" with *Divālī* festival but the commentary[3] of Śivarāma explains the expression with the remarks: प्रतिपदुत्सवे स्थालीपाकाख्ये. I cannot say if the *Divālī* was known as स्थालीपाक-उत्सव in ancient or mediaeval India In this connection I note here some points about the origin of the *Divālī* festival recorded by "Ṛgvedī" in his book on *Aryan Festivals*[4] already referred to by me. These points are briefly as follows :—

(1) The present दीपावलि महोत्सव is a unification and transformation of three पाकयज्ञs v.z. (i) पार्वण, (ii) आश्वयुजी and (iii) आग्रयण.

(2) पार्वण appears to have been observed on आश्विन वद्य ३० in ancient times as a पाकयज्ञ in honour of the *ancestors*.

(3) आश्वयुजी was observed in ancient times on the आश्विन पौर्णिमा. It pertained to *agriculture*, the presiding deity of which was सीता.

(4) आग्रयण (नवान्नेष्टि) was observed on मार्गशीर्ष पौर्णिमा It indicated the closing of the संवत्सर

(5) In course of time कार्तिक was fixed upon as the first month of the विक्रम संवत during the reign of विक्रमादित्य, the founder of this

[1] Mr. R N Mehta in his *Pre-Buddhist India* (Bombay, 1939, pp 354-355) deals with *sports and festivals* In this connection he refers to (2) कार्तिक festival on the night of the Full Moon (कार्तिकी पूर्णिमा) (2) आश्विन – night of Full Moon (चातुमासिनी कोमुदी) There is no reference in Mehta's description of these festivals to any display of lamps. (See J. I., pp 499-500-G. 143, II. p 372, V, pp 212-214, and J VI, pp. 221-222, G 947, 949, 953 (उत्तमो उस्सवो).

[2] Krishnashastri Chiplunkar in his Marathi translation of *Nāgānanda* (Bombay, 1865) p 105, translates the expression "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" as "दिवाळीचे सणाचे दिवशी" — Principal R. D Karmarkar in his Edition of *Nāgānanda* (Poona, 1919) p 50 of Notes, observes — "In the introductory scene from the conversation of the कञ्चुकी and प्रतीहार we learn that red garments have to be presented for ten days after marriage according to the custom of the time to the bride and the bride-groom and also that विश्वावसु wants to make a suitable present to the newly wedded pair at the approaching *Dīpāvalī* festival".

[3] Ed by T Gaṇapati Śāstri, *Trivandrum S Series*, 1917, page 187.

[4] आर्यांच्या सणांचा इतिहास, Bombay, 1916, pages 290-293.

era. The custom of celebrating the *Divāli* in this month in association with the other festivities of the New year's beginning must have given the *Divālī* its present form.

The above hypothesis about the origin and development of the modern *Divālī* festival needs to be substantiated by evidence. Its author has not recorded any convincing evidence in its support to compel our acceptance of it.

Our story of *Divāli* as revealed by datable literary evidence has so far come to *C A. D. 600.* If the दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव mentioned in the *Nāgānanda* definitely means the *Divālī*[1] we can easily take its antiquity at least upto *A D. 500*, as national festivals have always a long tradition behind them.

To go backwards from A. D. 500 is now a difficult task and I earnestly invite brother-scholars to point out from early sources any references to or descriptions of the *Divālī* which can establish the antiquity of this national festival at least for 2000 years, if not more.

Hemacandra in his *Deśīnāmamālā*[2] (III, 43) mentions a *Deśi* word "जक्खरत्ती" (= यक्षरात्रि) and equates it with दीवाली or दीपालिका. If this explanation is correct we can easily take back the antiquity of *Divālī* to the time[3] of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, which mentions यक्षरात्रि in its list of festivals, as pointed out by Mr. T. N. Ray in his delightful article on "*The Indoor and out-door Games of Ancient India*" (Vide p 244 of *Proceedings of*

[1] My friend Mr M Govind Pai of Manjeshvar (South Kanara) states in a private communication that प्रतिपत् in "दीपप्रतिपदुत्सवे" clearly refers to कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत् because of the reference to शरत्समय in the following lines which are introduced by the poet in the same context.-- नायकः- मित्रावसो पश्य पश्य शरत्समय-पाण्डुभि पयोदपटलैः प्रावृत्ता प्रालेयाचलशिखरश्रियमुद्वहन्ति एते मलयाचल-सानवः" [These peaks of the मलय mountain, spread over by the veils of clouds, white on account of autumn, possess the beauty of the peaks of the *Himālaya* (प्रालेयाचल)].

[2] Ed. by Rāmānujasvāmi in *B. S. Series* (B O. R. Institute, Poona, 1938) p. 148.

Example :-- मणिवलएहि कुणन्ती जघाछेअम्मि जक्खरत्तिं व ।
जण्णोहणाण वि तुमं णि सि जच्छंदेण कि डरसि ॥ ३५ ॥

[3] About *100 A. D.*-Keith assigns the *Kāmasūtra* to *C. 500 A. D.* Mr. Ray accepts the date "*beginning of the Christian era*" for the work.

the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939). Mr. Ray states that the festivals यक्षरात्रि, कौमुदीजागर and सुवसन्तक are termed माहिमनी or having got a noble purpose and are universal and the rest are देश्य or provincial. About यक्षरात्रि Mr Ray[1] observes :—

" *Yakṣarātri* is performed during the night of the *New Moon* Night of Kārttika [Some are of opinion that यक्षरात्रि is the Full Moon Night of Kārttika But I don't think that they are correct Vide the commentary by Ramacandra Śāstri on *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi* (I, 4. 42)] This night is also called सुखरात्रि.[2] People generally gamble during this night. This is the night when the *Dīvālī* festival is celebrated nowadays almost every where in India. In Bengal and in some parts of India goddess *Kālī* is worshipped during the night. The New Moon and Full Moon Nights are specially fixed for the worship of *Kālī* and *Lakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth. The *Divāli* festival is performed in honour of this goddess in most parts of India. The day following this night is called द्यूतप्रतिपत् which is the first day of the Indian calender of the Vikrama era. *Yakṣarātri* is the last night of the year. It is said that Bali, the king of the nether world ascended the throne on this day."

Hemacandra's equation : " जखरत्ती (यक्षरात्रि) = दीवाली or दीपालिका " is a good starting point to hunt up the history of the *Divālī* in sources on either side of the Christian era, especially because the *Kāmasūtra* mentions the यक्षरात्रि among three major festivals (माहिमन्य explained by Yaśodhara as " महिमा महत्त्वं तादृियते यासाम् "). If more evidence can be gathered about the यक्षरात्रि festival, we shall be in a position to clarify the problem of the origin of *Divālī*

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[1] Mr Ray states in foot-note 16 of his article - I have dealt with festivals in my Presidential address on the occasion of *Dīpāli Utsab* (1346 B S) at Dinajpur, which is going to be published very soon, " I have not seen this address.

[2] The commentator Yaśodhara in his *Jayamangalā* commen. on the *Kāmasūtra* observes (p 55 of *Kāmasūtra*, ed. by Kedārnāth, N S. Press, Bombay, 1900) :—

" यक्षरात्रिरिति । सुखरात्रिः । यक्षाणां तत्र सन्निधानात् । तत्र प्रायशो लोकस्य द्यूतक्रीडा । ....एता माहिमान्यः क्रीडाः । देश्या आह— सहकारभञ्जिका " etc.

At the beginning of his article on Games referred to above Mr **Ray** observes :—

"*It is not possible to give a chronological account of these games.* There are certain games still prevalent in India, which can be traced as far back as the *Buddhist*, *Epic*, and even the *Vedic* period So we shall arrange the games according to their nature and shall try to give their history as far as practicable ".

I am firmly convinced that without a chronological account of our festivals we cannot understand their history. In the present paper I have planted some mile-stones of the *chronology of Divāli* from *about A. D. 100 to A. D. 1945* as will be seen from the following tabular statement :—

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
Between A. D 50 and 400	कामसूत्र mentions यक्षरात्रि as an important festival — According to Hemacandra जक्खरत्ती (यक्षरात्रि) is equal to दीवाली or दीपालिका — यशोधर (on कामसूत्र) explains यक्ष-रात्रि as सुखरात्रि, attended with यक्षs and द्यूतक्रीडा. He calls it a माहिमनी festival as opposed to देश्य. Both these terms are mentioned by the कामसूत्र	The कामसूत्र gives its list of festivals as यक्षरात्रि, कौमुदीजागर, सुवसन्तक etc. Is any chronological order intended in this list ?
A D. 606-648	Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj refers to दीपप्रतिपदुत्सव in his play नागानन्द which is equal to modern *D* as it has a reference to शरत्समय mentioned in the same context — The custom of presenting garments to the bride and bride-groom at this festival referred to in नागानन्द has its parallel in the modern custom of honouring the Son-in-law with feast and presents on the first *D* after marriage.	प्रतिपत of शरत्समय.

Chronology	Reference D = Divāli	Time indicated
Between A. D. 500 and 800	नीलमतपुराण composed in Kashmir describes in detail the दीपमाला festival with the following features — (1) All-round illuminations, (2) hoisting up of festoons, (3) Feasting with Brahmins, relatives and dependents, (4) Gambling, Music, (5) Passing the night in the company of ladies, (6) Wearing of rich apparel and jewels, (7) Presenting new garments to friends, relatives, Brahmins and the servants	पञ्चदशी —" कार्तिक अमायां दीपमाला वर्णनम् " according to colophon.
A. D. 959	सोमदेवसूरि in his यशस्तिलकचम्पू composed during the reign of the राष्ट्रकूट King कृष्ण (III) of मान्यखेट (Mālkhed) describes दीपोत्सव with the following features :— (1) Houses, white-washed and decorated with white festoons, (2) Merry-making in the company of ladies, (3) Music, (4) Gambling, (5) Tops of houses bright with rows of lights, (5) Indicated by सूनासूक्त (" सूनासूक्तसूचितावसरां दीपोत्सवश्रियं ")	Performed after the महानवमी festival (महानवमीं निर्वर्त्य).
A. D. 1030	The astronomer श्रीपति refers to दिवाळी in his Marathi commentary on his own ज्योतिषरत्नमाला.	Prior to कार्तिक शुक्लनवमी.
A. D. 1030	Alberūnī in his " Enquiry into India " (*Tahkik-i-Hind*) gives a detailed description of *D* with the following features :- (1) name " *Dibālī* ", (2) Festive dress, (3) making presents of *betel leaves and areca nuts*, (4) Merry-	" *1st Kārtika* or New Moon's day when the Sun marches in Libra ".

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	making, (5) visiting temples and giving alms, (6) All-round display of lamps at night, (7) cause of *D* given as the Liberation of *Bali* on this day by *Lakṣmī*, wife of *Vāsudeva*, (8) a time for luck—*Alberūnī* entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Gaznī.	-
A. D. 1088-1172	हेमचन्द्र of Gujarāt refers in his देशीनाममाला to "जक्खरत्ती" (यक्षरात्रि) and equates it with दीवाली or दीपालिका	
Before A. D. 1159	त्रिकाण्डशेष of पुरुषोत्तमदेव mentions यक्षरात्रि=दीपाली (1. 1. 108) (see यक्षरात्रि in St. Petersburgh Sans. Worterbuch)	
A. D 1100-1200	Abdul Rahman of Multan in the Punjab in his Apabhramsa work संदेशरासक describes the *Dīpāvalī* night (जोइक्खिहि) with the following features :— (1) Illumination of mansions by ladies all-round. (2) Ladies applying the collyrium of these lamps to their eyes. (3) Resemblance of the Divālī-lamps to the crescent moon	शरत् Season—कार्तिक वर्णन.
A. D. 1119	A *Kannada inscription* of the Madras Presidency of the reign of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla refers to a gift of one *gadyāna* for the service of नीलेश्वर देव by one Kāvarāja on a महापर्व, New Moon day of अश्वयुज, सोमवार.	New Moon day of अश्वयुज, सोमवार called महापर्व, which Dr. Fleet regards as दीपावलि (which extended from अश्विन कृष्ण १४ to कार्तिक शुक्ल १).

Chronology	Reference D = Divāli	Time indicated
A. D. 1290	The Mahārāstra Saint ज्ञानेश्वर refers to दिवाळी in his ज्ञानेश्वरी in three different metaphors — The illuminations of the Divāli are compared to the light of spiritual knowledge.	
C A. D. 1250	In the Marathi Mahānubhāva text लीळाचरित्र a long description is given about the celebration of *Divāli* by चक्रधर, the founder of this sect and his Gosāvi pupils Features of this description are :– (1) Plenty of water stored and used for the Divāli bath, taken by the *Gosāvis*. (2) Use of oil for rubbing the bodies before this bath. (3) Waving of lights (वोवाळणी) before the Gosāvis by the woman-disciple of चक्रधर. (4) Preparation of choice dishes for dinner such as मोदक, लाडू , सेव etc. on the भाऊबीज (यम द्वितीया) day following the Divāli day. This was a Saint's *Divāli* without any merry-making of the aristocratic variety. It was quite modest and simple.	
C. A. D. 1260	हेमाद्रि in his चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (व्रत खण्ड) describes the यमद्वितीया (or भाऊबीज) festival In this connection he quotes a passage from भविष्योत्तर containing the story of यम and his sister यमुना, who feasted him at her house. Since that time this festival was observed by brothers and sisters.	कार्तिक शुक्ल द्वितीया.

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
A. D. 1305	मेरुतुङ्ग of Gujarat in his प्रबन्ध-चिंतामणि narrates the story of Kolhāpur king who was contemporary of king Siddharāja of Gujarat (A D 1093–1143). In this connection he refers to the *Divālī* festival at Kolhapur with the following features :– (1) Worship of the महालक्ष्मी goddess of Kolhapur by the king's wives on the *Divālī* night (2) Oblation of gold jewels and camphor offered to महालक्ष्मी on the Divālī night by an officer of Siddharāja. (3) Gift of a magic garment to महालक्ष्मी by the above officer.	*Divālī night.*
A. D 1420	*Nicolo Conti*, the Italian traveller who visited Vijayanagar about A D. 1420 or 1421 has described the festivals that were celebrated at Vijayanagar such as वर्षप्रतिपदा, महानवमी, दीपावली and होळी (Vide p. 252 of विजयनगर स्मारक ग्रंथ, B I S. Mandal, Poona, 1936–37, article on विजयनगर आणि परकीय प्रवासी by R M Athavale). He describes the *Divāli* lamps kept burning day and night within temples and on their roofs	
Between A. D 1450 and 1600	The आकाशभैरवकल्प, an encyclopaedic work dealing with social religious and political life, possibly of Vijayanagar Empire describes in two chapters how a king should observe the Divāli	अश्विन कृष्ण चतुर्दशी or नरक चतुर्दशी and कार्तिक सिते पक्षे प्रतिपत्.

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	on नरकचतुर्दशी and कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्. The features of the नरकचतुर्दशी महोत्सव are :- (1) This festival brings victory, progeny, happiness, prosperity etc to kings It is called साम्राज्यद (giver of Sovereignty) (2) Early morning bath, (3) Worship of *Purohitas* and other eminent Brahmins. (4) At the bath the king's wife should anoint him with oil and *mallas* (wrestlers) should bathe him with warm water. This is called मङ्गलस्नान (5) King should worship his special deity and light three lamps before it (6) Then he should go to the आस्थानकूट (assembly hall) duly attired with sword, helmet, ornaments etc. and sit on the royal throne (सिंहासन) with all his servants and officers in attendance. He should receive here the members of the assembly consisting of tributary princes, learned Brahmins, poets, singers, actors, dancers, astrologers, and courtezans. This reception should be according to the status of each class of the assembly The King should then distribute presents in the form of garments. The distribution of *tāmbūla* etc should bring the function to a close.	

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	(7) The King should then go to the अन्तःपुर and there in the company of beautiful ladies, his sons and grand-sons etc. finish his dinner	
	(8) In the evening he should witness, in the company of tributary princes etc. a display of बाणविद्या (fire-works) followed by a dramatic performance in the नाट्यशाला accompanied with singing etc.	
	(9) He should then retire to the अन्त पुर, take his meals with the members of the house-hold and later pass the night in the company of his chief queen (महिषी)	
	The features of the दीपावली proper on the following day (कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपत्) are :—	
	(1) Bath etc. as on the previous day.	
	(2) Worship of भास्कर (Sun),	
	(3) offering three lamps to लक्ष्मीनारायण for averting अलक्ष्मी and establishing लक्ष्मी on a secure basis (स्थैर्यसिद्धये).	
	(3) Holding a gathering in the आस्थानकूट as on the previous day.	
	(4) Retiring to अन्तःपुर and there worshipping साम्राज्यलक्ष्मी.	
	(5) After-noon rest, followed by entertainments like मल्लयुद्ध.	
	(6) Illuminations all-round in the capital in temples, assem-	

Chronology	Reference D = Divālī	Time indicated
	bly-halls, terraces, streets and squares, theatres etc. (7) Honouring the royal servants with *tāmbūla* and garments after their labours (कृतश्रमान्) for the success of the Divāli celebrations. (8) Dedication of the entire illuminations (दीपनिवह) to महालक्ष्मी (9) Worship of बली, son of विरोचन and grandson of प्रह्लाद. (10) Distribution of gifts of gold etc. to Brahmins, relatives etc with a joyous heart. Thus terminates the दीपावली-उत्सव contributing to long life, health, victory, prosperity and knowledge.	
A. D. 1590	*Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl describes *Divālī*. *Features* – (1) Greatest festival of the Vaiśya caste, (2) Illuminations–difference in calculating the date of *D*–celebrated on कार्तिक शुक्ल १३ and कृष्ण १५, (3) Lamps are lit as on the Muslim festival *Shab-i-barāt*, (4) Dicing and other strange traditions.	*Kārttika* कृष्णपक्ष १५ and शुक्लपक्ष १३.
A.D. 1613, 1623, 1651, 1671, 1673, 1690, 1820, 1843 1883.	European references to *Divālī* recorded in Hobson – Jobson *Features* – (1) Feasting, (2) Festival in honour of विष्णु, (3) Sending presents to all concerned, (4) Bania's Divālī, (5) Grand festival season, (6) Fireworks (1820), (7) Worship of लक्ष्मी, (8) Floating of lamps in river, (9) Splendid Divālī at Benares (1888).	

In the foregoing study of the history of the *Divāli* festival I have confined my evidence as far as possible to non-Purānic sources, as the chronology of the Purānic sources is not definite. I hope now that many of my friends who have made a close study of the Purānic sources will throw more light on this festival of lights by linking up the Purānic sources with the chronology of this festival as recorded in the present paper for a period of about 2000 years from the beginning of the Christian era upto the present day [1]

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[1] Since this paper was drafted I have sent for publication in the *Journal of the Dr. Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad a paper on "*The Sukhasuptikā of the Nilamata Purāna (between A. D 500 and 800) and the Āditya Purāna quoted by Hemādri (C. A. D. 1260) and its relation to the modern Divāli festival*" — I have further received the following replies to my inquiries about *Divāli*, which would be useful for further investigation in this field —

(I) Mm. Prof. *P V. Kane* writes on *22-1-1946* —

"The 4th volume of my work (*History of Dharmaśāstra*) will deal with *festivals* and *vratas*. Therefore, so far I have written nothing about the Divāli festival. From my notes I find that Hemādri quotes स्कन्दपुराण and भविष्यपुराण for lighting lamps in *Divali*, similarly the मदनपारिजात quotes वृद्धमनु, the दिवोदासीय quotes ब्राह्मपुराण. The निर्णयसिन्धु also quotes these and the कृत्य रत्नाकर (pp 386-395 and p. 413) has something to say about आश्विनरात्रिमहोत्सव and यमद्वितीया".

(II) Dr *A. P Karmarkar* who is now working on Purānic Culture at the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, has kindly sent me the following references to *Dipāvali* from the *Purānas*, on *1-2-1946* —

(1) पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखंड, chap. 122); (2) वामनपुराण (chapter 92 - verses 53 ff. — Note also the दशावतारs in the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण); (3) स्कन्द-पुराण (वैष्णव खण्ड - कार्तिकमासमाहात्म्य, chapters 9 ff).

(III) Dr. *A. N. Upadhye* (Kolhapur) writes about *Jain Divāli* on *26-1-1946*.—"The *Divāli* is the most important festivity with the Jainas. Lord Mahāvira attained *Mokṣa* on the कार्त्तिक वद्य अमा (in the South आश्विन वद्य अमा). The Jainas practically all over India celebrate the *Nirvāna* of *Mahāvira* by illuminating lights on the night of the New Moon in the month of *Kārttika*, the कल्पसूत्र remarks · "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter" (see S. B E. Vol. 22, pp. 264-266). The era of महावीर निर्वाण begins from कार्त्तिक शुक्ल १. The remark of the कल्पसूत्र is the starting point for our study".

am thankful to all the above friends for their helpful and prompt replies to my queries about *Divāli*.

My present study of the history of the Divāli has been pre pared in space-time context. The time-context has been made sufficiently clear in the table given above. As regards the space-context I may observe that the sources used in the present study pertain to the celebration of the *Divālī* from Kashmir to Madras at such places as Multan, Kashmir, Kanauj, Delhi, Agra, Gujarāt. Chhattisgarh (C. P) Mahārāstra, Poona, Mālkhed (in Nizam's Dominions), Vijayanagar, etc This space-context shows the national, character of the *Divālī* from very early times Yaśo dhara, therefore is right in putting the *Yaksarātri* (or *Divālī*) in the category of *Māhimani* (national) festivals mentioned by the *Kāmasūtra* as distinguished from the *deśya* (provincial or regional) festivals.

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

10. *Different Types of Deposits*[1]

BY

PROF. Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH (Poland)

Abbreviations :– *Amar.* – Amarakośa ed. by Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Paris 1839 , *Āp* –Āpastambīya Dharmaśāstra ed. by G. Buehler, Bombay, Sanskrit Series 1892–94, *B.*–Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra ed. by E. Hultzsch in "Abhandlungen fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. VIII., Leipzig 1884 , *Bṛh.*– Bṛhaspati Smṛti, reconstructed, ed. by K. V. Rangasvami Aiyangar, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol LXXXV, Baroda 1941 , *Col.* – Digest on Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions with a Commentary by J. Tercapancanana trans by H. T. Colebrooke, Vol. I London 1891, *Dh* –Dharmakośa, Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, Vivādapadām ed. by L. Joshi, 1938 , *G.* – Gautamīya Dharmaśāstra. The Institutes of Gautama ed. by A F. Stenzler, London 1876 , with Maṣarī Bhāsya ed by L Srinivasicharya, Mysore 1917 , ed by M. N. Dutt in the " Dharmaśāstra Texts " Vol I Calcutta 1908 , *Hal* – Halāyudha's Abhidhānaratnamālā ed by Th. Aufrecht, London 1861 , *Hem* – Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi ed by O. Boehtlingk and Ch. Rieu, St Petersburg 1847 , *K.*–Kauṭilya's Arthaśastra ed by R. Shama Sastry, Oriental Library Publications Sanskrit Series No 37 / 64, Mysore 1924 , *Kath.* – Kathāsaritsāgara ed by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1839 , *Kāty* – Kātyāyana Smṛti ed by P V. Kane, Bombay 1933 , *Mbh* – Mahābhāra'a ed. Calcutta 1884–1839 , *Mn* –Mānava Dharmaśāstra with Kūllūkabhatta, Nirn Sag. Press, Bombay 1886 , ed by Pandya, Bombay 1913 , *Mrcch.* – Mṛcchakatika ed by N. B Godabole, Bombay 1896 , *N* – Nārada Smṛti with Nāradabhāsya of Asahāya ed by J Jolly in Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1885 , *Pañc* – Pañcatantra ed by J G. L. Kosegarten, Bonn 1848 , *Ragh* – Raghuvaṁśa ed by A F. Stenzler, London 1832 , *Rāj* – Rājatarangiṇī ed. by M. A Stein, Bombay 1892 , *Rām.* – Rāmāyaṇa ed by A W. V Schlegel, Bonn 1838, *Śāk.*–Kālidāsa s Śākuntala ed by C Boehtlingk, Bonn 1842 , *Sar.* – Sarasvatī–Vilāsa ed by Rev Th. Foulkes, London 1881 , *Smr. C.* – Smṛti-Candrikā by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa ed. by L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore 1916 , *Śukr.* – Sukranītisāra ed by Oppert, Madras 1882 , *Vās.* – Vāsiṣtha Dharmaśāstra ed by A A. Fuehrer in " Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series " No, XXIII Poona 1930 , *Vi* – Viṣṇu-Smṛti ed by M. N. Dutt in the " Dhasmaśāstra Texts " Vol. II, Calcutta 1909 , *Viv.* – Vivādacintāmani from Vācaspatimiśraviracarita (Rāmacandravidyāvagīśaśodhitah) 1894 ; *VM* – Vyavahāra Mayūkha of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇtha ed. by P V. Kane, 1926 ; *Y.* – Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra ed by A. F Stenzler (*Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch*) Berlin-London, 1849 with Mitāksarā's (*Mit*) Commentary of Vijñāneśvara by W L S. Panśikar in Nirn Sagar Press, Bombay 1936 , with Vīramitrodaya (*Vīr.*) Caukhambā Saṁskṛta-Granthamālā ; with Aparārka's Commentary in Ānandāśramasamskṛtagranthāvali (*Apar.*).

[1] See also my No 11 " Law of Deposits "

I

1. *Contract of Deposit*

Deposit is a contract whereby one person delivers a movable thing to another for gratuitous safe custody. *Depositum* as well as *commodatum*, *mandatum* etc are species of *fiducia.*

2. *Depositum – Fiducia*

The *Smrtis* very often use the word "*depositum*", whilst meaning *fiducia.* We find several sorts of deposits in the *Smrtis.* Some of them are in reality specific varieties of deposits (*e. g.* sealed deposits, open deposits, etc.), but by far the greater number are not deposits from the point of view of the theory of law, but some specific contracts in which *fiducia* plays a prominent role. However, as the *Smrtis* and their commentators class these relative, specific agreements among contracts of deposit, therefore, from the point of view of the theory of ancient Indian Law, we must consider them as contracts of deposits, although from the general point of view of law these contracts have nothing to do with the contracts of deposits, or are only slightly connected with these contracts.

3. *Synonyms*

In the Sanskrit nomenclature we find three most important synonyms for the word deposit *i. e.* निक्षेप, उपनिधि and न्यास. From the legal point of view the difference between these three synonyms is very slight Other words are also known for the designation of the deposit.

Hemacandra in Abhidhānacintāmani[1] quotes these three synonyms,[2] Halāyudha in Abhidhānaratnamālā[3] quotes निक्षेप and उपनिधि as synonyms[4] and Amarakośa[5] mentions उपनिधि and न्यास as synonyms[6].

II

A. Open deposits

4. *Quotations*

The word निक्षेप from नि° (down, into) + °क्षिप् (to throw, to lay, to cast), the laid down, the delivered, the preserved, the entrusted *i e.* a deposit, is used in Mn., N., Brh., Vi, Vir., VM. as the principal word for the designation of a deposit.

[1] 870 [2] निक्षेपोपनिधि [3] I-82 [4] निक्षेपः स्यादुपनिधि
[5] II-9-81 [6] पुमान् उपनिधिर्न्यासः

It is quoted in Hem. as synonym of उपनिधि and न्यास and in Hal. as synonym of उपनिधि.[1]

Mn. (VIII-4) eumerating eighteen titles of law mentions निक्षेप and quoting the classification of offences (XI-57) also uses this word In addition Mn. quotes निक्षेप in the chapter relating to deposits (VIII-179-181, 185, 186, 188, 190-192, 194, 196, 149). Mn. also uses the word उपनिधि (VIII-185, 186, 149) and considers it as another kind of deposit (VIII-196). However, it must be noted that for a "sealed' deposit Mn uses the word समुद्र (VIII-188)

Although N. (16) in enumerating the titles of law uses the word उपनिधि and Asahāya commenting on these rules does not mention the word निक्षेप at all, it must be emphasized that N. in other places almost exclusively uses the word निक्षेप (N II-1, 5, 7-10, 13). N defining the deposit also employs the word निक्षेप and regulating the problem of the sale of things not from the owner also quotes the word निक्षेप (N. VII-1) and repeating in I-81 the text of Mn. (VIII-149) uses both the words निक्षेप and उपनिधि. N. (II-14) also contains a general rule according to which the rules relating to निक्षेप, as general rules, have to be applied to याचित, अन्वाहित, शिल्प, उपनिधि, न्यास and प्रतिन्यास. In the text of N., which is not published in the edition in "Bibliotheca Indica" by J Jolly, and is quoted by Mit. (ad Y II-65), in VM. (p. 190/10-11) etc.[2] N. distinguishes between निक्षेप and उपनिधि and gives good definitions of both these kinds of deposits.

Chapter XI. of Brh, which deals with deposits, is entitled निक्षेप. All the other kinds of deposits are classed in Brh. under निक्षेप (XI-1, 15) However, Brh. seldom employs the word निक्षेप for the designation of the deposit (XII-1). Brh. differentiates between निक्षेप and औपनिधिक (XI-2), or न्यास (XI-3) as well as न्यास and अन्वाहित (XII-2) and expresses the opinion that all the rules contained in the Chapter XI also relate to अन्वाहित, याचित, शिल्पिन्यास, etc. (XI-18).

Vi. only mentions the word निक्षेप for the designation of the deposit (V-169 / 171, XXXVI-3, LII-4).

[1] See § 3. [2] Vir., Parāśaramādhava.

VIr. on the other hand uses the words निक्षेप and उपनिधि promiscuously. Mitramiśra begins the relative para regarding deposits (p. 493) with the words निक्षेपं विवादपदमाधिकृत्याह and concludes (p 496) with the words इति उपनिधिप्रकरणम्. Conmmenting on N. (VII-1) Mitramiśra says that the term निक्षेप includes by implication याचित and other species of deposits. This statement is probably based on N (II-14).

VM (p 190/6) entitles the chapter regarding deposits – निक्षेप but uses as synonym of the term deposit the word न्यास and understands by it all kinds of deposits.

Other sources of law consider उपनिधि as the principal word to designate the deposit but also admit the term निक्षेप for the meaning of deposits

Y. uses the word उपनिधि and निक्षेप (Y-II-25) separately and in N.-III-230, which is similar to the sentence found in Mn (XI-57), uses the word निक्षेप. Y does not consider the word उपनिधि as identical with निक्षेप and states (II-67) that the same rules apply to निक्षेप as to उपनिधि.

Kāty considers the word उपनिधि as the principal word for the designation of the deposit. We read there, that क्रयप्रोषितनिक्षिप्त-बन्धान्वाहितयाचितम् (592) are identical with the उपनिधि [1] Kāty. promiscuously employs the words याचित (595), न्यास (596/7), उपनिधि (601), निक्षेप (592, 593, 598, 599) in the text and concludes by saying that all the rules enumerated in the relative chapter refer to all sorts of उपनिधि (602).

K (177) also mentions the word उपनिधि as the principal word for the designation of deposits but extends the relative rules to निक्षेप (180/6).

Vās., in which *Smṛti* we find very little mention of deposits and in which the rules contained in Mn (VIII-149) and N. (I-81) are repeated, mentions the word उपनिक्षेप for the designation of the deposit.

We also find the word निक्षेप in the sense of a deposit in Pañc.[2] Kath.[3] Sāk.[4] and others.

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[1] क्रयप्रोषितनिक्षिप्तबन्धान्वाहितयाचितम् ।
वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पितं चैव सोऽर्थस्तूपनिधिः स्मृतः ॥ Kāty. 592

[2] Prath I, 16 etc. [3] Tar. 7, v 79. [4] 97-1.

5. *Definition*

The Smrtis do not give us a juridical definition of the निक्षेप. Only unpublished text of N. quoted by Mit. etc. remarks:

असंख्यातमविज्ञातं समुद्रं यन्निधीयते ।
तं जानीयादुपनिधिं निक्षेपं गणितं विदुः ॥ [1]

Hence उपनिधि is a sealed deposit when its contents are not counted and known, and the निक्षेप is an unsealed deposit when the contents are counted.

This definition seems to be right. Probably developing it Mit (*ad* Y I-67, p. 163/25) remarks समक्षं तु समर्पणं निक्षेपः. In connection with the preceding sentence it is therefore evident that according to Mit. if delivery of the deposit was performed in the presence of the owner then this kind of deposit is called निक्षेप; *eo ipso* in this case the deposit will be counted.

Vīr. (p. 494/26-27) on the basis of the opinion of N, mentioned before, accepts a specific form of निक्षेप. This commentary is of the opinion that if an article described in the presence of an artisan (शिल्पिने) and handed over to him for preparing into an ornament is a निक्षेप. We shall see later on that this is not a निक्षेप but a शिल्पिन्यास [2], however, we observe here the same *essentialia* which were found in N. and Mit, *i e* handing over of the object deposited or entrusted with somebody in the presence of the owner and counted. This is also an open deposit and not a sealed one.

How obscure the definition of the निक्षेप is, can be seen from the fact that the two, best experts and translators of K. understand निक्षेप in two entirely different ways. R Shamasastry translates निक्षेप as a sealed deposit (180/6 sqq) and J. J. Meyer as an open, unsealed deposit (284/26) We do not find in K any definition of निक्षेप and it is not clear from the context whether उपनिधि or निक्षेप is a sealed or unsealed deposit, so that no reason exists why K. should be quite different from N., Y and their commentators. Therefore, it would appear that J. J. Meyer's opinion that निक्षेप should be translated as an unsealed, open deposit is right.

It must be admitted that the निक्षेप is an unsealed deposit handed over to the depositary in the presence of the owner.

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[1] VM. p. 190/10-11, Mit. *ad* Y. II-65 p. 162/25-26 [2] See §. 17.

It has to be pointed out that N. (II-1) remarks :

स्वं द्रव्यं यत्र विश्रम्भान्निक्षिपत्यविशङ्कितः ।
निक्षेपो नाम तत्प्रोक्तं व्यवहारपदं बुधैः ॥

" Where one entrusts his property to another in confidence and without suspicion, that is termed निक्षेप, a title of law. "

We observe that in N. (II-1) a very clear and exact definition of निक्षेप is given, however, in reality, it is the proper definition of the deposit in the most general sense of this word and not a species of deposit called निक्षेप The best proof of that might be the fact that in the last *śloka* according to VM (p. 190/8-11) this general meaning of निक्षेप is divided into a specified निक्षेप and उपनिधि

6. उपनिक्षेप

Y. (II-25) enumerates in addition to निक्षेप the उपनिक्षेप from उप° (at, by, beside, near, with) + °नि° (down, into) + °क्षिप् (to throw, to lay, to cast), the laid down by, the entrusted with

Y. mentions the उपनिक्षेप in the *śloka* identical with Mn (VIII-149), N (I-81), Vās (XVI-18) and K (191/2) All these *Smṛtis* enumerate in the respective *ślokas* निक्षेप and उपानिधि (निक्षेपानिधि). Y. however uses the word निक्षेप instead of the word उपनिक्षेप. We read there .

आधिसीमोपनिक्षेपजडबालधनैर्विना ।
तथोपनिधिराजस्त्रीश्रोत्रियाणां धनैरपि ॥

If we comment on this sentence which relates to not losing deposit, etc. by adverse possession, with identical quotations from other sources quoted above, we come to the conclusion that no difference exists between the निक्षेप and the उपनिक्षेप and that both mean " open deposit ". This is also the opinion expressed by Mit where we read . उपनिक्षेपो नाम रूपसंख्याप्रदर्शनेन रक्षणार्थं परस्य हस्ते निहितं द्रव्यम (Mit. *ad* Y II-25 p 137/25-26). Consequently उपनिक्षेप is a chattel placed for safe custody in another's hand after exhibiting its quality and quantity The same definition of उपनिक्षेप can also be found in Vīr : उपनिक्षेप· परस्य समीपे सङ्ख्यादिना परिच्छिद्य समर्पित वस्तु (Vīr. *ad* Y. II-24/25 p. 436/5-6).

However, the उपनिक्षेप is defined in quite a different way in Śūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā* (*ad* Y. II-25). Śūlapāṇi states that the उपनिक्षेप is a deposit placed in a vessel without mentioning details

of what is deposited and with a seal. Śūlapāni, based on N., as he states, gives for the word उपनिक्षेप the definition of उपनिधि Possibly the preposition उप was misleading for Śūlapāni and, therefore, he considered in error उपनिक्षेप as sealed deposit. This can also be surmised from the fact that Śūlapāni refers to N. where we do not find the word उपनिक्षेप but only the words निक्षेप and उपनिधि

B. Sealed Deposits

7. *Quotations*

उपनिधि from उप° (at, by, beside, near, with) + °नि° (down, into) + °धा (to put, to lay, to bring) what is put into with somebody, a deposit, or औपनिधिक (creating a deposit) is considered in some *Smrtis* as the principal word for the designation of deposits.

It was said above that Hem. quotes उपनिधि, निक्षेप and न्यास as synonyms, Hal उपनिधि and निक्षेप and Amar उपनिधि and न्यास.

Y., Kāty , and K. consider उपनिधि (औपनिधिक) as the principal word for the designation of deposits

Y (II-67), as was mentioned above, classes all the rules relating to deposits under the word उपनिधि Y. (II-25) also uses the word उपनिक्षेप and उपनिधि

Kāty (592) considers several kinds of deposits as equivalent to उपनिधि [1] and uses the word उपनिधि promiscuously with other synonyms for this word.

In K. the heading of the relative chapter is औपनिधिक (p. 177/12), then K. employs the word उपनिधि (p 177/13 sqq.) but later mentions that the rules relating to उपनिधि must also be applied in case of निक्षेप (p. 180/6) K. uses also the word उपनिधि next to निक्षेप (p 191/2) in the chapter relating to prescription

Mn. (VIII-196) differentiates between उपनिधि and निक्षेप and in other places mentions उपनिधि as well as निक्षेप i. e. when regulating that both these deposits should not be handed over to the next-of-kin (VIII-185) and when regulating the problem of prescription (VIII-149) When regulating this last problem N. (I-81), Vās (XVI-18), K. (191/2) and Y. (II-25) also mention उपनिधि next to निक्षेप.

[1] See § 4.

In addition उपनिधि is mentioned in Mbh. (I-4899.)[1]

8. *Definition*

We find the definition of उपनिधि or औपनिधिक in N. (II-5), Bṛh. (XI-2), Y (II-65). It must also be noted that N. (16) enumerating the eighteen titles of law mentions उपनिधि as one of them, although (in the second chapter) considers निक्षेप as the principal word for the designation of deposits. N. (quoted in Mit *ad* Y. II-65, VM. and others) differentiates also between उपनिधि and निक्षेप.[2]

Mit. defines उपनिधि (*ad* Y. II-25 p. 136/27), Vīr. (*ad* Y. II-24/25 p 439 and *ad* II. 65-67 p 493/19), Śūlapāni (*ad* Y. II-25 and 67), Viv (p 26 basing the definition on Kāty, and Śukr. औपनिधिक II-327) considering this word as the principal for the designation of a deposit)[3]

The definition of the उपनिधि or औपनिधिक found in different *Smṛtis* is not uniform although, in rule, it is admitted in the *Smṛtis* that the उपनिधि is a sealed deposit.[4]

Vīr states briefly that उपनिधि is a special kind of deposit तदौपनिधिकं नाम निक्षेपविशेष (Vīr p 493/19).

Exhaustive definitions of उपनिधि can be found in N (II-5), Y. (II-65), Brh. (XI-2) and N. (quoted in Mit. *ad* Y II-25, etc). In addition उपनिधि is also defined in Vīr. (*ad* Y. II-24/25), Medh (*ad* Mn. VIII-148), etc.

The *Smṛtis* state : अन्यद्रव्यव्यवहितं द्रव्यमव्याहृतं च यत् ।
निक्षिप्यते परगृहे तदौपनिधिकं स्मृतम् ॥ (N. II-5),
वासनस्थमनाख्याय हस्तेऽन्यस्य यदर्प्यते ।
द्रव्यं तदौपनिधिकं प्रतिदेयं तथैव तत् ॥ (Y. II-65),
अनाख्यातं व्यवहितमसंख्यातमदर्शितम् ।
मुद्राङ्कितं च यद्दत्तं तदौपनिधिकं स्मृतम् ॥ (Brh XI-2),
असंख्यातमविज्ञातं समुद्रं यन्निधीयते ।
तज्जानीयादुपनिधिं निक्षेपं गणितं विदुः ॥
(N in Mit. *ad* Y II-65 p 162/25).

[1] For details See § 4   [2] See § 4.

[3] Śukr defines also deposits in similar way.

[4] It was mentioned before that K. does not give any definition of उपनिधि and Shamasastri translates उपनिधि as an open deposit and निक्षेप as a sealed deposit ; the other way round J J Meyer, whose translation seems to be better. See § 5.

उपनिधेर्भाण्डस्थानामपरिच्छिन्नानां ।

(Vīr *ad* Y. II-24-25 p. 436 / 7-8)

Hence a chattel, property (द्रव्य) which being placed in a box (वासन, Y. II-65) or a pot (भाण्ड, Vīr.) or hidden in another thing (N. II-5) or, as mentioned most clearly in other *Smrtis*,-under a seal (समुद्र, N. in Mit *ad* Y. II-65, or मुद्राङ्कित in Brh. XI-2) or covered with cloth and sealed (Medh *ad* Mn. VIII-148) without being described (अनाख्याय in Y II-65, असंख्यातमदर्शितम् in Brh. XI-2) or without being counted or known (असख्यातमविज्ञातं in N. in Mit. *ad* Y. II-65) or measured (अपरिच्छिन्नानां in Vīr) is deposited in other people's houses (परगृहे, in N. II-5) or in the hands of another - is called उपनिधि. In other words when a chattel is given under seal to another person for deposit or if the depositary does not know what is deposited with him, this kind of deposit is known as उपनिधि.

Some of the commentators explain what is to be understood under a sealed or hidden article in another thing These are, as explained, things which are unknown to the depositary *i, e.* he does not know whether it is gold, or silver, or pearls, or necklaces, etc. tied up and secured by a private knot prevent its being taken by another person or secured by the impression of a seal on which special letters are engraved (Col. p. 403/4 based on Asahāya *ad* N).

That is one kind of definition of the उपनिधि. However, Medh (*ad* Mn. VIII-148) who in the beginning defines the उपनिधि in a similar way to the definitions mentioned above states that it is better to take an उपनिधि as standing for what is given for use through friendliness and favour. Most probably in this instance he bases his opinion on Mn. (VIII-196) The opinion expressed in *Dīpakalikā* (*ad* Y II-25) is similar Śūlapāni states that उपनिधि is a deposit made over for use out of affection This point of view completely changes the meaning of the sealed deposit, of which one of the ***essentialia*** is the fact that the depositary does not know what he takes into deposit, and moreover, cannot use it The use of a deposited object also completely changes the character of this agreement. Therefore, it must be admitted that this definition is wrong. Even Śūlapāni, in another place, we can say, admits that he was wrong (*ad* Y. II-25) as *ad* Y. (II-67) expresses the opinion that the use of the deposit without the consent of the depositor is not allowed and he who does it should be fined. It must also be borne in mind that only *Dīpakalikā* and Medh. are of the

latter opinion though all the other *Smṛtis* define उपनिधि as sealed deposit.

C. Secret Deposits

9. *Quotations*

न्यास from the legal point of view is the least important synonym for the designation of deposits.

Hem. enumerates न्यास as one of the three synonyms along with निक्षेप and उपनिधि and Amar. as one of two *i e* along with उपनिधि.[1]

Asahāya (*ad* N. 16) divides the deposits *inter alia* also into न्यास

Kāty. (592) enumerating various kinds of deposits (उपनिधि) does not mention न्यास as one of them This *Smṛti*, however, uses this word promiscuously with उपनिधि, निक्षेप and याचित (593, 603)

Brh. promiscuously employs न्यास with निक्षेप (XI-9, 19) and considers it from the point of view of law as a special kind of deposit, and gives a special definition of न्यास (Brh. XI-3) In addition, Brh. in the chapter relating to the sale of different articles by an unauthorised person, not the owner, (अस्वामिन) mentions न्यास, निक्षेप and अन्वाहित, separately stating, in this way, that these three deposits are different from each other (Brh. XII-2).

Y. and N. also consider न्यास as the different sort of deposit as it is stated in these *Smṛtis* that the rules relating to उपनिधि or निक्षेप apply also *inter alia* to न्यास (Y. II-67, N II-14).

It must also be added that in N., in which *Smṛti* the word निक्षेप is considered as the principal word for the designation of a deposit, in the chapter relating to proofs by ordeal to take place in the case of the denial of a deposit, the word न्यास is used (N. 1-241).

B. (II-1, 2, 3) considering the stealing of a deposit, and the like, as an offence causing loss of caste, also uses the word न्यास for the designation of deposits

Śukr. (IV-5, 310) uses the word न्यास in addition to याचित and अन्वाहित.

Generally speaking the word न्यास was considered in literature, and *eo ipso* colloquially, as the principal word for the designation of deposits, although in juridical nomenclature it

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[1] See S. S., Hem. (870), Amar. (II. 9, 81).

was a specific and rather infrequent sort of deposit [1] **And so we see in** Mṛcch. that Vasantasenā entrusting **the** jewels to Cārudatta uses the word न्यास (णास). Similarly **this word is also** used by Vidūsaka and Cārudatta [2] In Rāj. we also **find the** word न्यास in the chapter relating to a certain man of **means who** deposited a lakh of money in the house of a **merchant.** [3] **Raj.** also prefers the word **निक्षेप** for the designation of a **deposit.** [4] In Śāk. (act IV–97) the word न्यास is also used for **the designa**tion of deposits,[5] similarly in Ragh.[6] and Kath.[7] (**when referring** to the deposit of the whole estate with the merchant **Hiranya**datta or Hiranyagupta and tricks used by Upakośā). [8] **Even** Rām uses the word न्यास for the designation of the **deposit.** [9]

[1] See § 10.

[2] Vasantasenā — अज्ज अलिअं । परिसेमु णासा णिक्खिविअन्ति ण उण गेहेसु (Act I p 69/628-629) Cārudatta धिङ्मूर्ख न्यासः खल्वयम् (Act I. p. 69 633) Vidūsaka: णासो पस सो । Cārudatta कथ न्यासः । **Vidūsaka:** समस्ससदु भव । जइ णासो चोरेण अवहृदो तुमं किं मोहं उवगदो । **Act III.** p. 155/282-285)

Cārudatta यं समालम्ब्य विश्वासं न्यासोऽस्मासु तया कृतः ।
तस्यैतन्महतो मूल्यं प्रत्ययस्यैव दीयते ॥ Act III. p. 161/353-354

[3] सौहृदागूढसद्भावे व्यापदोपयिकं धनी ।
न्यासीचकार दीन्नारलक्ष कोपि वणिग्गृहे ॥ (VIII-124). See **also** VIII. 126, 151.

[4] See VIII-147

[5] **अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव तामद्य संप्रेष्य परिग्रहीतुः ।**
जातो ममायं विशदः प्रकामं प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा ॥
Śāk. Act. IV, 97.

[6] **स** विसृष्टस्तथेत्युक्त्वा भ्राता **नैवाविशत्**पुरीं ।
नन्दिग्रामतस्तस्य राज्यं न्यासमिवाभुनक् ॥ Ragh XII-18.

[7] Tar 4.

[8] वणिग् हिरण्यगुप्तो मे भर्त्रा न्यासीकृतं धन ।
जिहीर्षति इति विज्ञप्तम् तत्र राजा तया **स्वय** (Kath. Tar. 4/72)

Kath. uses also in addition to न्यासीकृत the words **अर्पिधान, स्थापित धान,** eto

[9] पादुके चास्य राज्याय न्यास दत्वा पुनः पुनः ।
निवर्तयामास ततो भरत भरताग्रजः ॥ Rām. 1, 1, 37.

as well as Mbh., [1] Bhāgavata Purāṇa[2] and many others.

It must be noted that Mit. (*ad* Y. II-67) uses in addition to न्यास the word न्यस्त, a special kind of deposit *i. e.* gold, etc. for preparing bracelets, etc. [3] Mit. classes this kind of deposit under "and others".—From this commentary it is evident that न्यस्त is nothing more than शिल्पिन्यास. [4]

10. *Definition*

From the legal point of view न्यास is a deposit which was entrusted to a member of the house in the absence of the owner and without being shown to him with the mandate to be handed over to the owner of the house. Therefore, न्यास can be considered as a secret deposit. This definition is absolutely identical with that found in Mit. and Vīr. (*ad* Y. II-67).

Mit. states · न्यासो नाम गृहस्वामिनेऽदर्शयित्वा तत्परोक्षमेव गृहजनहस्ते प्रक्षेपो गृहस्वामिने समर्पणीयमिति । (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/24-25).

Vīr. states : न्यासो गृहस्वामिनेऽदर्शयित्वा तत्परोक्षमेव तदीयजनहस्ते प्रक्षेपो गृहस्वामिने समर्पणीयमिति । (*ad* Y II-67 p. 494/24-26).

This is the real definition of न्यास. Brh. (XI-3) is also of the opinion that the contract of deposit (न्यास) takes place in the house of another man and adds the motive for the commitment of the deposit. Brh states that it takes place through fear of the king, robbers or other dangers or for the purpose of deceiving the heirs. We read there :

राजचौरारातिभयाद्दायादानां च वञ्चनात् ।
स्थाप्यतेऽन्यगृहे द्रव्यं न्यासस्तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥

(Brh. XI-3)

Identically *Dīpakalikā* (*ad* Y. II-67). Such a fear is also described in K. (180/19 - 181/2) where, however, the word निक्षेप is employed. [5]

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[1] I-6137

[2] In Viṣṇu Purāṇa V. 8, 16, IX, 14, 20

[3] आदिशब्देन सुवर्णकारादिहस्ते कटकादिनिर्माणाय न्यस्तस्य सुवर्णादेः
(Mit *ad* Y II. 67 p. 163/25-26). See §. 18.

[4] See §. 18.

[5] कृतलक्षणेन वा द्रव्येण प्रत्यानयने तद्बालिशजातीयो वा राज्ञो राजदायिकाक्षण-भीतिः सारमस्य हस्ते निक्षिप्यापगच्छेत । K. 180/19-20 See also J. J. Meyer *Das altindische Buch von Welt und Staatsleben* p. 786/78.

If we admit that the only *essentiale* of the न्यास—deposit is the lodging of an object in the hands of a person for safe-keeping "in the house of another man" then we understand clearly why Mrcch., Rāj., Kath., etc. have used the word न्यास and not निक्षेप or उपनिधि. However, it must be admitted (Śāk. and others) that the word न्यास was principally employed, and in literature too, for the designation of deposits

D. Mutual Deposits

11. *Quotations*

The mention of प्रतिन्यास from प्रति° (towards, over, against, in sight of) + °न्यास (deposit), a deposit towards another, is to be found in N. (II-14). There it is pointed out that the rules relating to deposits also apply *inter alia* to प्रतिन्यास.

Mit. (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/26) basing his opinion on this quotation also understands under "and others" the प्रतिन्यास – deposit.

12 *Definition*

The definition of प्रतिन्यास is to be found in Asahāya's commentary (*ad* N. II-14) and in VM. (*ad* N. II-14 p. 193/3).[1] Under this expression an agreement of a re-deposit or a mutual deposit must be understood. According to this agreement both parties exchanged deposits with one other (प्रतिन्यासः स्वामिना यत्र निक्षिप्तं तेनाप्यन्यत्र निक्षिप्तं)[2] with the words "you should keep this thing of mine, and I shall keep this thing of yours".

We can say that from the legal point of view in this case two different contracts of deposit take place at the same time. The depositaries fare depositors as well as vice verse.

It must be noted that other *Smrtis* do not regulate this kind of deposit.

E. Loans for Use

13. *Quotations*

याचित or याचितक – deposit from याच्° (to ask for, to request, to sue for) is classed among deposits (उपनिधि) in Kāty. (592) and in Asahāya's commentary on N. (16) when enumerating eighteen titles of law. Y. (II-67, II-14) and Bṛh. (XI-18)[3] also state the same; both these *Smrtis* state that the general rules relating to deposits have also to be applied to याचित or याचितक.

[1] and by Nīlakaṇṭha. [2] VM p. 193/3.

[3] याचित.

Y. (II-238) quotes the word याचित when discussing the problem of the use by the washerman of the objects given to him and penalties to be imposed for such use (ten *panas*)

G. (XII-42) and Kāty. (595) use this word when regulating the responsibility for negligence or *vis major* in the case of loss or destruction of an object which was याचित

Vīr and Smr. C. commenting on Kāty. (606/7) express the opinion that the rules of deposits apply to याचितक.

Śukr. (IV-5, 310) uses the word याचित besides न्यास, अन्वाहित, etc.

Matsya Purāna (quoted in Dh *ad* उपनिधि) and Aparārka (p. 664) quote याचित besides निक्षेप

14. *Definition*

In spite of all the quotations mentioned above it is very difficult to admit from the point of view of the system of civil law that याचित is a deposit

VM. gives the following definition of the याचित-याचितमुद्वाहादौ शोभार्थं नीतमलकारादि

Vīr. states विवाहाद्युत्सवार्थं वस्त्रालङ्कारादिकं प्रतिदेयतयाङ्गीकृत्य याचित्वानीतं याचितं । (*ad* Y. II-67 p 494/21-23).—Similarly *Dīpikalikā* (*ad* Y. II-67).

Consequently it is evident that according to this contract clothes, ornaments and the like are loaned to a person on the occasion of a marriage or similar festivity for adornment purposes. These objects are given without any consideration of interest, as Śukr rightly mentions twice (II-327, 381)[1] This opinion also conforms with that of Pānini (4, 4, 21) who says that याचित (याचितक) are articles lent for use free of interest.

From the conclusions noted above it is evident that याचित (याचितक) from the point of view of law are loans for use and not deposits although some *essentialia* were the same in both agreements. That is probably the reason why the *Smrtis* class the याचित amongst the उपनिधि (Kāty , N.) and apply to these contracts the general rules relating to deposits Therefore, from the point of view of the system of ancient Indian law we have to class याचित among deposits

अवृद्धिक गृहीतान्यालंकारादि च याचितं (II 327/655)
सवृद्धिकमृणं दत्तमकुसीदं तु याचितं । (II. 341/681)

F. Deposits for Delivery

15. *Quotations*

अन्वाहित from अनु° (thereafter, afterwards, further on) + °आ° + (to, upto, at) + °धा (to lay, to give) *i e* what is given afterwards further on, is according to the *Smṛtis* a specific form of deposit.

Kāty. (592) classes अन्वाहित among उपनिधि and Asahāya commenting on N. (16), when enumerating the eighteen titles of law in subdivisions of deposits, quotes अन्वाहित.

Y (II-67), Brh. (XI-18) and N. (II-14) are of the opinion that the rules relating to deposits (उपनिधि, निक्षेप) also apply to अन्वाहित.

Brh. (XII-2), regulating the problem of sale without ownership, mentions अन्वाहित besides न्यास and निक्षेप.

Sukr (IV-5, 310), discussing the problem of things which must not be handed over to others even in times of danger, enumerates अन्वाहित along with याचित and न्यास.[1]

16. *Definition*

None of the *Smṛtis* give any definition of the अन्वाहित - deposit. We observe, however, some definitions in the commentaries on the *Smṛtis*.

Mit. states यदेकस्य हस्ते निहितं द्रव्यं तेनाप्यनु पश्चादन्यहस्ते स्वामिने देहीति निहितं तदन्वाहितम्। (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/22-23)

The definition found in Vir is almost identical We read there अन्वाहितं स्वामिना एकस्य हस्ते निहितं द्रव्यं तेनाप्यनु पश्चादन्यस्य हस्ते तस्याधातुर्वचनान्निहित। (*ad* Y. II-67, p 494/23-24).

The explanation of the अन्वाहित is clearer in the VM., although this definition is worse from the legal point of view We read there: अन्वाहितममुकेन मयि स्थापितं च त्वया तस्मै देयमिति पुरुषान्तरहस्तेऽर्पितम्। (VM. p 192/13-14)

On the basis of these three commentaries we have to come to the conclusion that the contract of अन्वाहित took place if the owner A. committed to the care of B. an object and this B lodged it afterwards, further on, in the hands of C with the clear mandate to return it to the owner A.

[1] uses also the word निक्षेप.

From the point of view of law not one but several separate contracts were performed in this case. Firstly there is the performance of the agreement between A. and B., according to which an ordinary contract of deposit took place However, according to the contract of deposit B. was obliged to return the deposited object to A. In the case of the अन्वाहित—deposit B. concluded an additional agreement with C. according to which he obliged C. to return the deposited object to A. *i. e.* to the owner of this object. The commentators do not state whether the agreement between B and C was concluded with, without or against the will of the owner of the deposited object. As no objections are raised in the *Smṛtis* against this kind of deposit, we can admit that this agreement was concluded with or without the will of A., but never against his will.

The agreement between B and C is, above all, a contract of deposit (sub-deposit) joined with the mandate (*mandatum*) to return the deposited object not to B. but to the owner of the deposited object–A.

Therefore, the अन्वाहित is a deposit for delivery.

We find in the *Smṛtis* besides the अन्वाहित also the अन्वाधि from अनु° (thereafter, afterwards, further on) + आधि (pledge) *i. e.* a pledge which should be given afterwards, further on. This word is found in Kāty. (611) where it is defined in the following way :

अनुमार्गेण कार्येषु अन्यस्मिन्वचनान्मम ।
दद्यास्त्वमिति यो दत्तः स इहान्वाधिरुच्यते ॥

This definition is similar to that quoted above and, therefore, the word अन्वाधि is identified with अन्वाहित, which does not seem to be correct as it is composed also of आधि (and not of धा–हित), which means a pledge. [1]

G. Deposits with an Artisan

17. *Quotations*

शिल्पिन्यास from शिल्पन्° (artisan) + °न्यास (deposit) or शिल्पि उपनिधि from शिल्पन्° (artisan) + उपनिधि (deposit) or शिल्पिहस्तगत from शिल्पन्° (artisan) + °हस्त° (hand) + °गत (from गम् being in) is according to the *Smṛtis* a special kind of deposit.

We find शिल्पिन्यास in Bṛh. (XI–18),[2] Viv. (p 25/26), VM.

[1] See Miśra and Bhavadeva (quoted in Col. p. 406) on 'pledge transferred'

[2] See also XI. 19.

(p. 193/4, 194/8, etc.), शिल्पे उपनिधि in N. (II-14) and शिल्पिहस्तगत in Asahāya's commentary on N. (16).

Brh. (XI-18) and N. (II-14) extend the rules regarding deposits to शिल्पिन्यास or शिल्पे उपनिधि. Nevertheless it must be pointed out that Y. in the *śloka* II-67, which is almost identical with the two quotations mentioned above, does not contain any mention of शिल्पिन्यास, or the like.

However, under " others " (आदि) this kind of deposit could be understood although neither Mit. not Vīr. mentioned by name शिल्पिन्यास, or the like. Vīr. (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 494/26-27) defines namely deposits with an artisan calling them निक्षेप and Mit. (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/25-26) न्यस्त. [1]

Also Kāty. (592) does not mention शिल्पिन्यास, or the like, but it is evident from *śloka* 603 sqq. that this kind of deposit is known to Kāty. too. The same applies to K. where शिल्पिन्यस or the like is not mentioned in the relative chapter relating to deposits but from another place (180/9 sqq.) it is evident that this kind of deposit is known to K. too. K. uses in this para, for the designation of an artisan, instead of the word शिल्पन्, the word कारु.

Asahāya (*ad* N.-16) enumerating the eighteen titles of law mentions as one of the kinds of deposits the शिल्पिहस्तगत *i. e.* what has been put into the hands of an artisan.

VM. (193/4) interpreting Kāty. (603) uses the word शिल्पिन्यास and then, further on, referring to some special rules connected with this kind of deposits, uses also the same word.

Viv. quoting and interpreting Brh. (XI-18 and 19) uses also the word शिल्पिन्यास.

18. *Definition*

We do not find in the *Smṛtis* any definition for the word शिल्पिन्यास, or the like. We find it, however, in the commentaries on the *Smṛtis*.

We read in Viv. (p. 25) : शिल्पिन्यासेऽलङ्करणादिघटनार्थं शिल्पिषु समर्पिते सुवर्णादौ.........

We read in VM (p. 192/24-25) शिल्पिन्यासो हेमकारादिषु कुण्डला-द्यर्थं निक्षिप्तम् ।

[1] See § 5 and § 10.

Vir. calling this kind of deposit निक्षेप says : शिल्पिनेऽलङ्कारादिघटनाय द्रव्यसमर्पणं च साक्षादाख्याय । समर्पणं निक्षेपः (Vir. *ad* Y. II-67 p. 494/26-27) and Mit. calling it न्यस्त states as follows :

आदिशब्देन सुवर्णकारादिहस्ते कटकादिनिर्माणाय न्यस्तस्य सुवर्णादेः ।
(Mit. *ad* Y. II-67 p. 163/25-26).[1]

From these quotations it is evident that under the शिल्पिन्यास, or other similar expressions, must be understood an object given to an artisan in order to perform a particular piece of work. This is *e. g* giving of gold to a goldsmith in order to make from it earrings, necklaces etc

From the point of view of the theory of law this contract is not *depositum* but *fiducia* because the aim of deposit is to give a movable thing for the purpose of gratitous safe custody. In this case, however, the aim of giving a movable thing is the giving of material to an artisan for the purpose for its manufacture. The duties of such an artisan are similar to those of the depositary and probably, therefore, some of the *Smrtis* class the giving of objects to an artisan for manufacturing among deposits However, from the point of view of the theory of ancient Indian law we must admit that शिल्पिन्यास, or the like, are considered as deposits. In any case we have to keep in mind that such a precise *Smrti*, as the Y. is, rightly does not class the शिल्पिन्यास under the contracts of deposit

H. Property of a Minor

19. *Quotations*

पोगण्ड or पोगण्डधान from पोगण्ड° (a minor) + °धान (property) is according to N. the sixth species of deposits. We read there :

प्रतिगृह्णाति पोगण्डं यश्च सप्रधनं नरः ।
तत्याप्येष भवेद्धर्मः षडेते विधयः समाः ॥

Also Asahāya commenting on N. (16) and enumerating the eighteen titles of law mentious पोगण्डधान.

20. *Definition*

The only definition of this " deposit " can be found in Asahāya (*ad* N. II-15). We read there :

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[1] See § 9

य अनाथं बालं सप्रधनं नाथाबुद्ध्या प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्यापि पूर्वोक्तस्यैव विधिर्द्रष्टव्यः। षडेते विधयः। षडेते विधयः समा इति।

Hence this is the property of a minor This kind of the contract of deposit, according to N., takes place when a man takes a wealthy minor, who has no guardians, into his house. Then the property of the minor is subjected to the rules relating to deposits In this case the child, whose father and mother are deceased, is deposited by the king or on his behalf with a man who has to take care of the orphan. As the orphan-minor cannot dispose of the estate left by his father, the guardian has to take care of him similarly to a thing committed to his care

In this case too, from the legal point of view, it is impossible to class this case under " deposits. "[1] This is a *tutela dativa* and the depositary is in reality a *tutor dativus* who has similar pecuniary obligations towards the minor as a depositary towards the depositor. However, here too, N. is of the opinion[1] that it is a special kind of deposit Therefore, we have to consider it, from the point of view of the system of ancient Indian law as a species of deposits.

1. Other Kinds of Deposits

21. क्रयप्रेषित, बन्ध, वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पित

In Kāty. (592) we read: क्रयप्रोषितानिक्षिप्तबन्धान्वाहितयाचितम्।
वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पितं चैव सोऽर्थस्तूपनिधिः स्मृतः॥

We see here that Kāty. classes, in addition to the deposits quoted above, the following contracts under deposits: क्रयप्रोषित, बन्ध and वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पित.

क्रयप्रोषित from क्रय° (purchase) + °प्रोषित (from प्र° + °वस् going home, going abroad) is an object sold but still in the hands of the vendor. It is not a deposit from the point of view of the theory of law, but a *constitutum possesorium.*

बन्ध is a pledge, it is an article entrusted to a pledgee, but not a deposit, although the pledgee has similar duties to perfom as a depositary.

वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पित from वैश्य° (merchant) °+ वृत्य (वृत्ति) (from वर-to reach) + ° अर्पित (from अर्, to bring) is an object lodged in the the hands of

[1] ... षडेते विधयः समाः (N. II. 15).

a trader. It is also not a *depositum* but *fiducia.* Here also the trader has similar duties to perform as the depositary. [1]

22. आदि

Y. (II-67) and N. (II-14) use also the word आदि *i. e.* "and the like" after having enumerated याचित, अन्वाहित, न्यास (Y.), or याचित and अन्वाहित (N.)[2]. Vir. (*ad* Y. II-67 p. 494/27 sqq.) understands under this expression things bought but not paid and like others mentioned in G. (XII-42). G. states there :

निष्यन्वाधियाचितावक्रीताधयो नष्टाः सर्वाननिन्दितानपुरुषापराधेन ।

Therefore, these kinds of *fiducia* have also to be considered, from the point of view of the theory of ancient Indian law, as contracts of deposit [3]

J. Distinction of Deposits from the Point of View of Civil Procedure

23. *Deposits given before witnesses or verbally*

From the point of view of civil procedure N. (II-6) and Brh. (XII-5) differentiate between deposits given before witnesses (साक्षिमान्नित or ससाक्षित[4]) or verbally and in private (प्रोक्त [5] or राहोदत्त).[6]

The deposit was given verbally when the depositor had the highest confidence in the depositary However, the depositary had to abstain from this kind of contract and the contract of deposit before witnesses or writing should be concluded in order to avoid any misunderstanding regarding the kind of deposit and that the depositary is not forced to be tried by ordeal (see Viv p. 23/4).

We see here that this distinction between deposits is not important from the point of view of civil law but civil procedure only and, in particular, from the point of view of evidence in case of an eventual lawsuit

[1] See also a similar case of *fiducia* in K 198/17 and many others.

[2] as well as शिल्पे उपनिधि, न्यास and प्रतिन्यास

[3] See §§. 9, 11, 17, 18.

[4] from साक्षिन् or साक्षिक — witness.

[5] from प्र० + ०वच्. [6] from राहस्० + ०दत्त.

III MAHĀBHĀRATA NOTES*

BY

V S. AGRAWALA

1 शिंशुमार शिर.

In October 1938 I had written to the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar to enquire the meaning of the expression शिंशुमार शिर· occurring in Ādiparvan, 185. 16 (Vulgate text). In reply he wrote to me:— 'I am not sure about the meaning of *śiṃśumāraśiraḥ*, in Ādi. 185. 16 Our *old* group of Northern Mss. has 'puram' while Sourthern Mss. read 'girim'. We have accepted 'puram' for our Critical text, and I take that it was some place—a suburb—near Drupada's capital, where a special camp was erected for the Svayamvara'.[1] Subsequently I published my interpretation of the word in the Journal of India Society of Oriental Art for 1939, suggesting that शिंशुमार शिर· could best be explained as an architectural term implying the architrave of a torana carved with an alligator's head The meaning had come to me by looking at the old gateways of the Sanchi stūpa in which the torana beams are finished off in volutes at both ends decorated with alligator's head and coiled fish tail. This meaning suits the context admirably. In response to king Drupada's proclamation of the *svayaṃvara*, many kings, Ṛṣis, sages and Brāhmanas flocked to his capital from different places to participate in and witness the ceremony. Those kings were well received by Drupada with respect due to their rank (Ādi. 176. 14). Then we have:

ततः पौरजनाः सर्वे सागरोद्धूतनिःस्वनाः ।
शिशुमारपुरं प्राप्य न्यविशंस्ते च पार्थिवाः ॥

(Critical text, I. 176. 15)

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* Mahābhārata Notes I, A. B O. R I., Vol. XXI, pp. 280-284, Mahābhārata Notes II, A B O R. I., Vol. XXIII, pp. 19-22.

1 Letter No. Gen. 3494 of 1938-39, dated 5th Nov., 1938.

i. e. on the next day the citizens of the capital and those royal guests proceeded with rumbling deep noise to the शिंशुमार शिर (keeping the Vulgate reading) and entered (the समाजवाट).

Then the poet describes in elaborate detail the architecture of the samāja-vāṭa furnished with प्राकार and परिखा, i. e. first a moat then an outer wall, and then the द्वारतोरण or the main gateway in the enclosure wall which gave access to the inner grounds. Inside it were rich pavilions and palaces (वितान, प्रासाद) turnished with many articles of comfort and show [Ādi, 176. 16–93]. The Epic description faithfully reflects the early Indian architecture of cities and city-gates as found in many places in the Buddhist and Jain literature (cf. Milinda, I. 34 and 380 ff.). As Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown The most conspicuous and necessary parts of a city are the moat (*parikhā*) and rampart (*prākāra*), gates (*dvāra, gōpura*), more specifically gate-houses (*dvāra-kotthaka*) with their defence towers (*dvāra-attālaka*) ...... and the king's palace (*prāsāda, harmya, rāja-nivesana vimāna*, etc) [Early Indian Architecture, Cities and City-gates, Eastern Art, 1930, p. 211]

The Epic writer has in my opinion preserved in the word शिंशुमारशिर a conspicuous feature of the early Indian gateway architecture The voluted ends of the architraves or temple cross beams were adorned with figures of fish-tailed alligators in a very attractive and prominent style This feature impressing even a casual observer of the Sanchi gateways persists upto the Kushāna period in the art of Mathura. It should, however, be mentioned that this artistic feature which is so very common in the style of the Sanchi toranas is conspicuous by its absence at Bharhut where only the spiral motifs are carved on the two ends of the beams. I should also note that I am unable to quote any other evidence from early Jain or Buddhist literature to corroborate the above explanation which can therefore be taken at best a suggestion deriving its force from the evidence of available architectural styles of early Indian art.

Dr. Sukthankar referred my suggestion to Dr. P. K. Acharya whose explanation was a bit different from mine as Dr. Sukthankar wrote to me 'I have been pursuing the question

of the best interpretation of the word *śiṁśumāraśirah*, and in that connection I wrote to Prof P K. Acharya of Allahabad University. I have now heard from him that he prefers the reading *śirah*, and opines that it is an architectural term. In his opinion it means *not* architrave of gates, but "the hand-rail on the balustrade of the gallery of pavilion marked probably at the bottom by the head of crocodile". This gallery of pavilion, in his opinion, was probably reserved for the *Paurajanāh*. He refers me to Mānasāra Vāstuśāstra (30-78-80) where there is mention of "stair-case of elephant's trunk pattern said to be decorated with lion faces."

I am sending you the information for what it is worth. I cannot make much of it myself. But it might give you a clue for further investigation ' [1]

Although I cannot agree with the suggestion of Dr. Acharya I think we can understand his meaning He seems to suggest that in the pavilion (विमान) inside the समाजवाट there were seats for the kings on the ground floor and an upper gallery for the sight-seeing पौरजना:, to which a stair-case was leading. The hand-rail on the side of this stair case was decorated with the head of crocodile, and this decoration was carved at the bottom near the first baluster or upright post If I am right in undestanding Dr. Acharya's meaning I should say that no doubt there were upper galleries and stair-cases (cf. सुखारोहणसोपान in the present passage, Ādi. 176. 20) with small hand-rails as found in the representations of early Indian art, yet I think that the term शिंशुमार शिर. as applicable to this small baluster is, for one thing, of much weaker force than if applied to the full-fledged toraṇa architrave, and for the other does not seem to hold good in the present context. A careful reading of the passage (Ādi 176. 15-26) makes it quite clear. The शिंशुमार शिर. according to the Epic was approached by the citizens and the kings and the question of any upper gallery being reserved for the former does not arise. The obvious and natural inference is that the शिंशुमारशिर: (whatever be its meaning) was approached by the guests as the first thing before they made their entry into the arena.

[1] Letter No. Mbh. 3528 of 1940-41, dated 9th October, 1940.

Having accepted the reading शिंशुमाराशिरः to be the correct one as dictated by the propriety of meaning I had entertained doubts regarding its textual support since Dr. Sukthankar wrote to me :, Our *old* group of northern Mss. has 'puram' while Southern Mss. read 'girim'. We have accepted 'puram' for our Critical text.' In the printed footnotes to the Critical edition only Ms K4 of the Kashmiri version gives शिशुमारशिर and D4 of the Devanāgarī version शिंशुमारशिर·, all others record पुरं or गिरिम्. Besides the fact that feeble textual support is not always the final argument in rejecting an otherwise superior reading,[1] we have here a good reason for the belief that शिशुमाराशिर· represents the original reading. It is a very fit example of *lectio difficilior*, i. e. the more difficult text preserving the correct reading, which in process of simplification was substituted by a reading palpably easier of comprehension. But all doubt about it is now set at rest by the discovery of the oldest extant Ms of the Ādiparvan from Nepal which according to Pandit Hemaraja is between seven hundred and eight hundred years old and which the learned General Editor of the Mahābhārata hailed as a discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies. The reading of this Ms. is शिंशुमारशिर (Sukthankar Epic Studies VII, Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol, I, p 382), and this to my mind sets the seal of final approval on this debated reading.

2. वैयाघ्र

In the first part of these Notes (A. B. O. R. I. XXI, p. 280) I had explained the expression वैयाघ्रपरिवारितरथ (Sabhāparvan, 51. 34) as 'chariots mounted with tiger's skin' on the basis of Pāṇini's sūtra द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् (IV. 2. 12) occurring under the general rule परिवृतो रथः । The references quoted there seem to permit the inference that the use of *vaiyāghra* chariots was a privilege enjoyed by kings and princes. The *vaiyāghra-parivārita ratha* referred to in the Sabhā-parvan (51. 34) was itself brought as a present to King Yudhisthira on the occasion of his

[1] Compare the reading उपसृताः in Āranyakaparvan, 229. 5. 'Vasudeva S. Agrawala has suggested the emendation of उपसृतांस्त्वपि (of the Vulgate) to उपसृतास्त्वपि (which is our reading). Though rather feebly supported by Ms. evidence, it is undoubtedly the correct reading'. (Dr. Sukthankar's Critical Notes to the Āraṇyaka-parvan, p. 1106).

Rājasūya ceremony. The Atharvaveda mentions as an essential part of the Rājasūya sacrifice the striding by the king on a tiger's skin :—

व्याघ्रो अधिवैयाघ्रे विक्रमस्व दिशो महीः

'Stride forth to broad regions, thou, a tiger, on a tiger's skin' (Atharva IV. 8 4). According to the Śatapatha Brāhmana. शार्दूलचर्मोपस्तृणाति (V. 3. 5. 3) the stepping on the tiger's skin was a necessary feature of the Rājasūya ceremony.

The word *vaiyāghra* in the Atharvaveda passage implies the skin of a tiger and not a chariot covered with it as known to Pānini. It appears that the tiger's skin on which the king walked at the time of the ceremony was subsequently spread to cover his seat in the war-chariot, which was therefore designated as वैयाघ्र by the force of the *vrtti* explained by Pānini as परिवृतो रथ (IV. 2. 10)

Besides the references to the वैयाघ्र chariots in the Mahājanakajātaka (Vol. VI, pp 48–50) and the Vessantarajātaka (Vol VI, pp. 503–504) I have come across to two more references in the Epics themselves We read in the Rāmāyana that Rāma mounts the वैयाघ्र chariot when he leaves his palace with Sumantra to see king Dasaratha before his selection as *Yuvarāja* ·

ततः पावकसंकाशमारुरोह रथोत्तमम् ।
वैयाघ्रं पुरुषव्याघ्रो राजितं राजनन्दनः ॥

(Ayodhyā, 16 28)

The other reference is from the Sabhā-parvan, 51. 4 —

अथ सहस्रसमितो वैयाघ्रः सुप्रवर्तित ।
सुचक्रोपस्करः श्रीमान् किंकिणीजालमंडितः ॥ ४ ॥
संह्रादनो राजरथो य इहास्मानुपावहत् ।
जैत्रो रथवरः पुण्यो मेघसागरनिःस्वनः ॥ ५ ॥

This records the fact that the वैयाघ्र chariot of युधिष्ठिर cost one thousand. The figure 1000 standing above should be taken to imply 1000 silver Kārsāpanas. This is supported both from the Pali and Sanskrit literatures. 'Quite in keeping with this is the fact that in early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coin is adduced, that of Kārsāpana being understood as is quite clear by its occasional mention. Kārsāpana was, therefore, looked upon as the standard

coin'. [D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 79]. In Pāṇini sūtras V. 1 27 and 29, *sahasra* stands for 1000 Kārṣāpaṇas.

The epic expression सहस्रसमित requires explanation. It is to be understood in the light of the sūtra सहस्रसंमितौ घः (IV. 4. 135), that which is equal to one thousand is सहस्रसंमित (Kāśikā, सम्मित-स्तुल्य· सदृश·). Strangely enough both for Pāṇini's sūtra and for the epic verse the variant reading सहस्रसमित is recorded ·

केचित्तु सामितावीति पठन्ति । तत्रापि समित्या सम्मित एव लक्षयितव्यः । तत्र छन्दसि प्रयोगदर्शनात् । (Kāśikā), i. e some read समित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same as that of सम्मित. In the Epic the reading सम्मित in this place is very feebly supported by a couple of Mss. only, but in the Anuśāsanaparvan in a similar context (not yet critically) edited we have the vulgate reading संमित—

शतेन निष्कगणितं सहस्रेण च संमितं । 93. 43.

i. e. each udumbara fruit filled with a nugget of gold was equal to 100 niskas or 100 Kārṣāpanas Here metrically सम्मित appears to be the correct reading in case the text be not intepolated.

Incidentally the above passage of the Anuśāsana is also important for giving as the numismatic ratio between one niska of gold and one kārsāpana of silver, the latter being one-tenth of the former in value.

3. पूर्वयायात and उत्तरयायात legends

In Mahābhārata Notes-I, it has been pointed out in another connection that the Kāsikā quoting most probably an old मूर्धाभिषिक्त illustration on Pāṇini VI 2 103 (दिक् शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु) refers to पूर्व यायातं and उत्तर यायातम् (p. 284) Now I find that these names for the two parts of the Yayāti legend are authenticated by the Critical edition itself. The chs· 71–80 of the Ādi dealing with Yayāti's casting off his old age in exchange for the youth of his son, his marriage and begetting sons are called पूर्वयायात, the colophon at the end being पूर्वयायातं समाप्तं. Similarly the chs 81–88 narrating the story of Yayāti's fall from heaven and his reascension constitute the उत्तर यायात portion finishing with the colophon उत्तरयायातं समाप्तं (p. 389 of Critical Edition). The text also names it as the उत्तरकथा of ययाति cycle :

हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि ययातेरुत्तरां कथाम् ।
दिवि चेह च पुण्यार्थां सर्वपापप्रणाशिनीम् ॥ 81. 9.

The उत्तरयायात begins and also ends with a फलश्रुति which is a sure sign of its once having an independent existence. It appears to be the traditional example of Pāṇini's sutra (VI. 2. 103) as suggested by Patañjali quoting it on a vārttika to sūtra IV. 2. 60 in exemplifying *ākhyānas*, and it may thus be inferred that the Yayāti legend before its being incorporated into the bulk of the Epic possessed an entity of its own and was being independently made a subject of study by reciters designated as the यायातिकs. Its floating existence is attested to by its forming part also of the Matsya Purāṇa, chs 36-42.

4. प्रवेरिता

In reply to an enquiry about the grammatical derivation of the word प्रवेरिता, Dr Sukthankar wrote to me

' The word *praveritā* in 1. 68 73 is no doubt difficult and has not been satisfactorily explained so far The word occurs about half a dozen times in Mahābhārata, and its meaning is also certain It is a *lect diff.*, as shown by the variants *usarjitā*, *nirākrtā*, *pravasitā*, *pravesitā* etc. There is as far as I know no corresponding root in Sanskrit Nilakantha (to Mahābhārata 1 19 24 Bombay edition) derives it as *pra* + (*u*)*va* + *īritā*, with elision of *a* of *uva*, according to Bhāguri (अत्र उपसर्गस्य भागुरिमतेन अकारलोप). Do include it in the next instalments of your Mahābhārata notes. It would be interesting to have your explanation ''

The Ādi-parvan verse is as follows —

मेनका निरनुक्रोशा बन्धकी जननी तव ।
यया हिमवतः पृष्ठे निर्माल्येव प्रवेरिता ॥ 68. 73. Poona Edition.

The other references [2] are ·

(1) वीर्यामर्षप्रवेरितैः (Bhīsma 108. 31.).
(2) भीष्मबाहुप्रवेरिताम् (Bhīsma 119 30.)

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[1] Letter No. Mbh 4826 of 1942-43, dated October 27, 1942.

[2] For these I am indebted to the kindness of Dr S K. Belvalkar, General Editor, Mahābhārata All these references are from the Vulgate—Bombay edition, published by the Chitrashala Press, Poona.

(3) तां शस्त्रवृष्टिमतुलां द्विपहस्तैः प्रवेरिताम् । (Karna. 81. 13).

(4) पपात चोच्चैरमरप्रवेरितं विचित्रपुष्पोत्करवर्षमुत्तमम् ।
(Śalya. 57. 68.)

(5) मेदोरुधिरयुक्तैश्च च्छिन्नबाहूरुपाणिभिः ।
निकृत्तोदरपादैश्च तत्र तत्र प्रवेरितैः ॥ (Svargā 2. 21.).

The meaning which satisfies all these contexts is undoubted, viz. 'thrown about, cast hither and thither, cast away'. In the Ādi. itself (68 69) we have an indication of its meaning—अवकीर्य च मां याता परात्मजमिवासती । Now I must admit that I am unable to offer any natural grammatical explanation of the word प्रवेरिता, but I feel certain in connecting it with the dialectical Hindi root पवेड़ना, to scatter, to sow seed by throwing, also written पवेरना = छितरा कर बीज बोना (*Hindiśabdasāgara*, p 2039-40); from it पवेरा (verbal noun) = the act of sowing seed with the hand (Platt's Hindustani Dict., p. 282), also called पवेड की बुआई, and same as चखेर or छींटा [1] It appears that in the old spoken Sanskrit (Bhāṣā) there was a root from which प्रवेरिता was derived and which has now survived in the current dialects. In Hindi we get another connected root पँवारना having the sense खेत में छितराकर बीज बोना, (Hindisabdasāgara, p 2038), used in classical Hindi in the poetry of Jāyasī (कँकन कर इक आदि पवारा, p. 222 of Shukla's edition) and Tulasi (कछु अगर प्रभु पास पँवारे) The personal name पँवारू given to a male child who after its birth is cast away by the mother and then repicked to ward off evil omens (cf similar names as फिंकू, चहाऊ, छाडू, सांलू from सांल धात्वादेश for क्षिप्, जैन पुस्तक प्रशस्तिसंग्रह p. 179-180), is from the same root, of which the original was surely connected with प्रवेरित.

5 महापराह्ण

In the Critical edition of the Ādi-parvan (181. 40) occurs the following verse

महत्यथापराह्णे तु घनैः सूर्य इवावृतः ।
ब्राह्मणैः प्राविशत्तत्र जिष्णुर्ब्रह्मपुरस्कृतः ॥

In the above महति अपराह्णे ('on the great after-noon'), though apparently not presenting any difficulty, is an instance of a very refractory text which has never been satisfactorily explained

[6] In the agricultural glossary of Meerut there are the five kinds of sowing seed (1) वैर (2) बुर्रा (3) पंवड (4) चोभली (5) गाहन.

The attempted simplification by substituting भवत्यथापराह्णे (N3 Da Mss.) is extremely poor and the other readings recorded in Critical apparatus (महान्यथा⁰ ; अथन्यथा⁰ , महताथ चराराहा) are worthless. The original reading is absolutely certain supported by all the versions and good manuscripts The meaning of the śloka is that while Kuntī was cast into deep anxiety about the safety of the Pāndava princes who had gone to attend the Svayamvara ceremony of Draupadī and who were delayed there beyond reasonable time, Arjuna entered the house surrounded by the Brāhmanas, like the sun surounded by the clouds on the great Aparāhna day. The question is whether the phrase denotes any and every afternoon as is usually understood, or any particular 'afternoon' in the year ? It is obvious the point of comparison can hold good, not on all days of the year, but only in the rainy season The Brāhmanas clad in black antelope skins (रौरवाजिनवासिभि , Ādi 181. 35) overshadowed Arjuna who was putting on a कृष्णाजिन (185. 2) in the same manner as masses of dark clouds cover the sun. What was this महापराह्ण day of the rainy season which suggested itself to the mind of the poet in preference to all other similar days ?

An answer to the question can perhaps be given with some certainty. According to Kautilya the आषाढी day, i e the full-moon day in Āṣādha was the last day of the govt. financial year (कर्म सवत्सर । तमाषाढीपर्यवसानं etc Arth. text, p 63) ' On the Āsadhī day must all the accounts be presented by the various departments (गाणनिक्यानि आषाढीमागच्छेयु , Arthaśāstra p 64) to the Accountant General whose duty it was to hear the totals (अग्र) of the receipts and expenditure (आय-व्यय) and of the net revenue (नीवि) and also to receive into Government treasury the net balance of the *nīvi* (आयव्ययनीविनामग्राणि श्रुत्वा नीवीमवहारयेत , ibid. p. 64) The आषाढी was the most important day of the fiscal year for transacting many outstanding items of business and closure of balances. The offices and Government account-books on this day had to be kept open for a much longer period than was usual. The आषाढी day is also referred to in the Rāmāyana as the day on which the king had to apply closure to all departmental business (of the year) and finished receiving all kinds of goods and stocks for his stores department.

निवृत्तकर्मायतनो नूनं संचितसंचयः ।
आषाढीमभ्युपगतो भरतः कोशलाधिपः ॥

(Kiskindhā, 28. 55).

While witnessing the beauties of the rainy season Rāma's thoughts go out from his immediate environs on the Mālyavat hill to Bharata's administrative routine in Ayodhyā and naturally he thinks of the closing business transactions of the fiscal year (कर्मसंवत्सर) and of the collecting of cereal stores proper to the Āsādhī day.

The next day after the Āsādhī would be the new year's day coinciding with first day of Śrāvana Dr. Shamasāstri has shown that *Vyusta* in the Arthaśāstra denoted the new year's day which was the first day of the financial year commencing just after the full-moon day of Āsādha (Arth. Trans. pp 59, 64 and Preface, xxiv, also his paper *Vyusti* or the Vedic new year's Day in the Proceedings of the 2nd Oriental Conference). The *Sūryaprajñapti* records in words of undoubted meaning that the new year began with the longest day in the month of Śrāvana (Proc. 2nd Oriental Conf. p 38) This longest day seems to have unmistakable reference to the महापराह्ण day which beginning from the morning of the आषाढी day was reckoned upto the morning of the व्युष्ट day, and was in this manner literally the 'great afternoon' day.

The Epic reference to the महापराह्ण finds striking corroboration from Pānini Sūtra VI 2 38 regulates the accent of the first portion of the following words—viz. महाव्रीहि, महापराह्ण, महागृष्टि, महेष्वास, महाजाबाल, महाभार, महाभारत, महाहैलिहिल, महारौरव and महाप्रवृद्ध. Each one of these, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] was a term, not of general application, but of specific meaning Pānini also records another word for the closing day of the year viz. संवत्सरतम (V. 2. 57) His reference to the Vyusta day (V. 1 97, व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण्) is of deeper significance in connection with the महापराह्ण reference. The derivative word वैयुष्ट denoted payments made on the व्युष्ट day as also the body of transactions or work disposed on that date (तत्र च दीयते, तत्र च कार्यं, V. 1. 96). From the nature of the meanings taught in the Astādhyāyī there seem to

[1] My thesis entitled *Pānini as a source of Indian History*.

be strong reasons for the belief that he was using व्युष्ट in a special sense which is identical with that of the Arthaśāstra, i. e the New Year's Day. The Head of the Accounts Department caused to be checked and verified the total receipts and expenditure and the net revenue of the closing year and this transaction would appropriately be termed वैयुष्ट कार्य or वैयुष्ट payments. The span of the आषाढी day would conveniently extend into the dawn of the व्युष्ट day for the terminal entries of the year and the heads of the ledgers would be kept open for much longer hours on this day. Thus although not the longest day of the year in the number of hours between sunrise and sunset, the महापराह्ण day would be considered virtually the longest accounting day in the whole year and thus only its appellation of 'the great afternoon' be justified.

For our passage in the Mahābhārata (1. 181. 40) the meaning that would suit in the context would be As on the last day in the month of Āṣāḍha the sun is overcast by clouds, so was Arjuna overshadowed by the accompanying Brāhmaṇas clad in black skin.

6 Prati as the Name of a Coin

§ (a) *Mahābhārata evidence*

The word *prati* as the name of a Coin is of rare occurrence in literature. One instance of its literary use is recorded and that in the following verse from the Mahābhārata

कच्चिद्बीजं च भक्तं च कर्षकायावसीदते ।
प्रतिकं च शतं वृद्ध्या ददास्यृणमनुग्रहम् ॥

The verse is found in the Nārada Rajanīti questions put to king Yudhisthira in the beginning of the Sabhāparvan (5 68). The correct rendering is as follows :—

' Do you distribute seed and food to your peasantry in distress, and do you advance agricultural relief loans to them at the concession rate of one *Prati* for each one hundred *Kārṣāpaṇas* ? '

The variant readings given in the Poona Critical edition are (1) प्रत्येकं, (2) पादिकं, (3) पंचक (4) प्रतिशक्तं and (5) प्रतिगुजाशतं The last three are extremely corrupt and hardly worth considering. The first two are accepted by the well-known commentator Nīlakaṇṭha. He gives *pratyekam* as the Vulgate text (for the *Pratikam* of the critical edition) and explains it as implying loans at 1 % of interest. His alternative reading *pādikam* is

explained as referring to an annual increase of one-fourth, i. e., Rs. 25/- for each hundred, which works out to an interest of a little over 2%. He further adds that 1% rate was for secured loans and that of 2% and a little more for unsecured loans. The explanation appears laboured and removed from the spirit of the original text Although by his meaning of *pratyekam* Nilakantha arrives at the same rate of interest, (i. e. 1%) as that of *pratikam* we must emphasise that *pratikam* is the older and genuine reading for which not only the testimony of best Mbh. manuscripts is our guide but also the older grammatical tradition in which is preserved the correct interpretation of the word *pratika*.

§ (b) *Evidence from grammatical literature*

This earliest use of प्रति is recorded by Kātyāyana in grammatical literature On Pānini V. I. 25 (कंसाट्टिठन्) there is a Vārttika, कार्षापणाद्वा प्रतिश्च, with the following *Bhāsya*—

कार्षापणाट्टिठन् प्रत्ययो वा च प्रतिरादेशो वक्तव्यः ।
कार्षापणिकः कार्षापणिकी । प्रतिकः प्रतिकी ।

(Kielhorn II. 347)

It means that *prati* is the substitute for the coin named *kārsāpana* and the suffix *tithan* is added both from the word *kārsāpana* and from *prati* to denote the various meaninges, such as 'purchased for' (तेन क्रीतम्), 'so much interest, income, profit, total-tax or bribe paid on it' (तदस्मिन् वृद्ध्यायलाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते, Astādhyāyī, V. I. 47). Thus *pratika* would signify a transaction in which one *kārsāpana* or silver punch-marked coin was paid as the purchase money or interest etc.

This is the simple and natural explanation and in the light of this we may understand प्रतिकं शतम् as an amount of one hundred silver *Kārsāpanas* on which one *Prati* was accruing as monthly interest, i. e. at 12 p. c. per annum. Nārada calls this as the concession rate charged on relief loans advanced by government. The higher rates of interest recorded in law-books for various classes of transactions range from 2, 3 to 4, 5 per cent. Where *Prati* means a *Kārsāpana* the *Śatam* or hundred also has reference to the *Kārṣāpana* coins. We find that in ancient literature when merely the figures were mentioned without specifying the name of the coin generally the standard silver punch-marked coin or

the *Kārsāpana* was intended which was the prevailing currency In Pānini sūtras V. 1. 21 (शताच्च ठन यतावशते) and V 1 34 (पणपाद्-माषशताद्यत) the *Kārsāpaṇa* coins are implied by the mere mention of the figure 100. In early Buddhist works when any big sums of money are specified, no name of coin is adduced, that of *Kārsāpana* being understood, which was looked upon as the standard coin. (Bhandarkar, Ancient Indian Numismatics p. 79).

§ (c) *Epigraphic evidence*

It is a matter of extreme good luck that we have reliable epigraphic evidence of the use of *Prati* as a current coin name in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions of *Usavadāta*, son-in-law of King Nahapāna Nahapāna belonged to the earlier wave of Śaka invasion under the Ksaharāta branch who became masters of Western India and Ujjain in the first century B C In inscription no. 12, it is stated that Usavadāta gave a perpetual endowment of 3,000 *Kāhāpanas* for the benefit of the Sangha, and invested them with two guilds, two thousand in a Weavers guild, interest one *Pratika* (monthly) for the hundred, and one thousand in another Weavers guild, interest three quarters of a *Padika* (monthly) for the hundred. These *Kāhāpanas* were not to be repaid, their interest only was to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand (2000) at one *Pratika* per cent provided the cloth money at twelve Kāhāpanas to every one of the twenty monks. From the sum of the thousand (1000)- invested at an interest of three-quarters *Pratika* per cent, the pocket money was to be paid to the monks.

In the above extract we have use of the technical terms *Vrddhi* (interest), *Kāhāpana* and *Pratika* and the interpretations are perfectly clear. The formula *Vrddhi Padika Sata* is identical with that used in the Mahābhārata passage *Pratikam ca Śatam vrddhyā*. Both have the same meaning i. e the amount of one hundred *Kārṣāpana* coins fetching an interest of one *Kārṣāpana*, i. e. one per cent monthly (*Ep Ind.* Vol VIII, pp 82-83, Nasik Cave Inscriptions).

In the Kanheri cave inscription no. 15 also there is a reference to an endowment of two hundred Kārṣāpanas at *Pratika*

rate of interest i. e one Kārsāpana per cent per month (अखयनिवि दता काहापणानि सतानि बे २०० सघस येव हठे पडिके सते.)

Burgess, *Arch Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, pp. 79–80 The inscription is dated in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī - Sātakarnī who who was a contemporary of Nahapāna.

§ (d) *Chronological considerations*

The literary and epigraphic references to the coin called *Prati* point to some important chronological considerations as regards the date of the Mahābhārata passage in which the word occurs. Pāṇini mentions only the name *Kārsāpana* for the standard silver punch-marked coin of his days. The word *Prati* as a substitute for *Kārsāpana* was unknown to Pānini (cir. 5th century B. C) and it occurs for the first time in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana (circa fourth century B C) It appears from the testimony of the Cave inscriptions cited above that *Prati* was a current coin name for the Kārsāpana up to the end of the first century B C., the rate of interest being very often expressed in terms of the *Prati* coin The Mahābhārata chapter containing the Nārada Rājanīti should therefore be assigned to a period between the fourth and the first century B. C. It is a text dealing with those subjects of law and polity which Dr. Sukthankar rightly considers to have been grafted on the original text of the Mahābhārata under tbe influence of the Bhrgus. Possibly this chapter, did not form part of the epic as it was constituted under the name of Bhārata. The position seems to have been that the *Nīti* portions were existing independently out of the orbit of the original Bhārata text and at some favourable time the Bhrgus incorporated them along with the Ākhyānas into the epic which emerged as the Mahābhārata as a result of this iuflation. The two limits of this literary *diaskeuasis* appear on the basis of the very solid evidence supplied by the references to the *Prati* coin in Kātyāyana's Vārttikas on the one hand and the cave inscriptions on the other, to fall within the narrow period of about three centuries, from the fourth to the first century B. C. The probability is that the date for the introduction of this particular chapter in the epic text is nearer the earlier limit than the later. This is also confirmed by the occurrence in this context of

several other technical terms as *Lava* and *Musti* (Sabhāparvan, 5. 54) which are peculiarly Kautilyan and have been used in the Arthaśāstra (IX. 1), a treatise of the Maurya period.

Post-script

Doctor F. Edgerton who has edited the critical edition of the Sabhā-parvan translates *Pratikam* as " apiece " (Sukthankar Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, page 11). This would mean that King Yudhisthira advanced the sum of one hundred Kārsāpanas to each individual farmer which on the face of it is improbable. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the General Editor of the Mahābhārata, to whom I communicated the interpretation of *Pratikam Śatam* set forth in this paper kindly wrote to me · " In my addition to Edgerton's Addenda et Corrigenda I had already given the correct sense of the word by inserting a note which I am copying for you

Devabodha's explanation runs thus: शत प्रति एकैकं प्रतिकम्, अथवा कं शिरः प्रति प्रतिकं प्रतिपुरुषमित्यर्थः। His alternative explanation which favours the rendering " apiece " ignores the current idiomatic use of प्रतिकं, which seems to underlie his first explanation, and to which Kātyāyana had drawn attention in his second Vārttika to Pānini 5. 1. 25. The word वृद्धि is explained as उत्तमर्णेन मूलातिरिक्तं ग्राह्यम् i. e, the 'interest'. This hundred which is to be given as a 'relief' loan *deserves* only one (Kārsāpana) as interest, and that is the main point, and not the giving of only one hundred to each needy farmer. " Pratikam " therefore means " Kārsāpanikam ", and this sense of the word is already registered in PW. "

I am greatful to Dr. Belvelkar for this information. The inter pretation of the coin name Prati suggested itself independently to both of us against the same grammatical background.

MISCELLANEA

BHĀLUŚĀLIKA OR BHĀṆḌAŚĀLIKA ?

By

LOKESH

In the Silver Jubilee Volume (XXIII) of the Annals, Prof. V. V. Mirashi quotes the colophon of a Nepalese MS. of the Rāmāyana on p. 293 in the course of his discussion on " Gāngeyadeva of Tīrabhukti ". This colophon was deciphered by Bendall, whose faulty reading has been noticed by Prof. Mirashi in his article In the colophon occurs a word which has been read by Bendall as *bhāñcu-śālika* and *bhālu-śālika* by Prof Mirashi. Both of these readings are wrong, and it is strange that Prof. Mirashi should have passed over this word even without putting a question-mark besides it. This is perhaps due to its having been considered a ' phonetic improvement ' on Bendall's reading, i. e., its sounding like a Sanskritic word !! Neither of the readings conveys any sense, which is essential to ensure their correctness. Moreover, in the entire manuscript the letter *lu* is never written in the way as it is in this word, wrongly deciphered as, *bhālu-śālika*. Further, the letter closely resembles, and is identical with, the letter *-nd-* in *pandita* which occurs just a little further (folio. 376 of the MS) It has only become slightly blurred and hence has evaded the attention of previous scholars as being *-nda*. The reading with *-nda* has been adopted in " Ālikālibijahāram (A Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian Abecedarium) " by the versatile scholar Dr. Raghu Vira, where the photograph and Devanāgarī transcription of the passage under consideration have been given on account of their close rssemblance to the Lantsha script of the abecedarium. The correct reading of the word would be भाण्डशालिक " an official connected with the भाण्डशाला ", and not भालुशालिक.

A NOTE ON THE A. CHESTER BEATTY COLLECTION

BY

G. H. Khare

Very recently I had an occasion to turn the pages of the three volumes of the monumental work [1] dealing with the collection of miniature paintings etc from the library of Mr. A. Chester Beatty. On plate 68 of the third volume is reproduced a miniature painting of the saint Shāh Dawlah the resident of Gujarat (Punjab). The foot-line describes the miniature as 'The derwish Shah Dawlat by Dilwarat'. On pp 34, 35 of the first volume (text), this painting is described thus: '(25) Plate, 68 By *Dilwarat*..... in the left hand margin of the picture is an inscription in the hand-writing of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the translation of which is The portrait of Shaykh Dawlat, who has settled in Gujrāt, Lahore Painted by Dilwarat'. It is quite clear from these remarks that the name of the artist has been deciphered as Dilwarat. [2]

But I very much doubt it. It is well nigh impossible to make out any meaning of the word-if it can be so called-Dilwarat The inscription is practically devoid of diacritical marks and orthographical points, for only three letters possess orthographical points. To the rest we are to supply both according to the requirements. The last word of the inscription consists of five letters. Out of them if the first is *dāl*, the fourth must also be *dāl*, for the forms of both the letters are identical. If these two letters are compared with the *dāl* in *dawlah* and *dar*, the identity becomes still clearer. But no doubt of any sort can be raised about their being *dāls* when those four letters are compared with the letter *re* in *dar*, *lāhūr* and *raqam*. Thus the penultimate letter in the last word must be read as *dāl* and not *re*. The second letter in

[1] The Library of A. Chester Beatty A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures by Sir Thomas W. Arnold, revised and edited by J. V. S. Wilkinson, Vol. I, text, Vols. II & III, plates, London, 1935.

[2] The whole inscription in the margin runs thus Shabīh Shaikh Dawlah kah dar Gujrāt Lāhūr mībāshad (?) raqam Dilwarat (Devadatta).

the same word can as well be read as *yāy*. Yāy occurs in three more words in the inscription; but its points are nowhere indicated. I, therefore, decipher the last word as Devdat (Devadatta). It was a very common personal name in old days and the word carries meaning.

In the left hand portion of the border of the frontispiece to the third volume, I find the words '*Amal-i-Ḥarīf*. indicating the name of the artist who executed the border But this has not been mentioned in the text.

The foot-line to pl. 40 (b) as also the text gives the name of the artist as *Kamālī Jibillāh*, I am doubtful of the second word. It has no meaning. It can be read as Jaisukha with some difficulty and then will carry meaning.

Pl. 41 (a) has something like '*Amal-i-Imām quli* at the bottom. But neither the foot-line nor the text refers to this inscription which gives the name of the artist[1]

[1] As far as I know nobody has referred to these discrepancies and hence I felt the necessity of writing this note.

VAIŚYAS AND SOCIAL ORDER

BY

S. N. Tadpatrikar

" कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम् । "

—भगवद्गीता १८ ४४

A reference to lexicons will show that the word '*go*' stands for many different things; but curiously enough, the Mahābhārata, at Anuśāsana parva, Adhy. 6) śl. 4, gives prominence to 'the Cow, the Earth and the Learning', stating that the gift of either of these, brings equal merit to the donor

तुल्यनामानि देयानि त्रीणि तुल्यफलानि च ।
सर्वकामफलानीह गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती ॥

In the Adhyāyas that follow, the sacredness of the cow is dealt with at great length, and along with the story of the King Nṛga, who, in spite of his great and liberal gifts, suffered the life of a lizard, owing to a slight error in giving away to a Brāhmana, another's cow, we have also the mention of Goloka, a special world where all sorts of highest pleasure are reserved for the donor of cows (MBH. XIII. 73). We leave पृथ्वी and सरस्वती for the present, and devote our attention to the cow.

Ṛgveda, does not seem to attach so much sacred value to the cow, and there the cow only counts as a means of wealth and prosperity. The Dāna-stuti hymns mention large herds of cows being given as Dakṣinā, to sacrificial priests, by the ruling Kings, who often performed sacrifices for their own good. These learned priests were specially called to the King's capital, and they usually had their colonies in forest-āśramas, where they could conveniently tend their flocks of cows, and lead a peaceful and happy life. Of course, looking after the cows, as also tilling land for rearing crops for their livelihood, was quite a necessity; but it is possible that as these colonists extended their field of activity, they found almost the whole of their time engaged in their main task – that of study and teaching of sacred lore, and कृषि and गोरक्ष्य gradually passed into the hands of their dependents and followers. These first consisted only of students, who, studying under their teachers, were asked to do these duties of farming, cow-tending and the like. The Pausya parva of the Mahābhārata gives us a concrete example of the above statement! A teacher, Āpoda Dhaumya, had three students of whom,

one Āruni from Pāñcālas, was sent to construct a bund to the field—गच्छ केदारखण्डं बधान. The water was flowing out of the field and it had to be stopped; the boy, seeing no other way, laid himself in the opening, and thus prevented water from going out—the teacher, not seeing him return home, went out in search, and called the boy, who, thereupon, showed his teacher how he had bodily held up the water. Of course, Dhaumya was pleased, and granted this sincere student proficiency in Vedas, giving him the name Uddālaka Āruni

Another student Upamanyu, was asked to look after the cows—वत्स उपमन्यो गा रक्षस्व. This poor, innocent boy was put to a severe test · the teacher asked him how he managed to earn a livelihood, the boy told that he begged for food, the teacher asked all the भैक्ष्य to be given to him, and when the boy did as he was told, the teacher kept for himself, all the provisions and sent the boy away without any means of feeding himself Seeing, after some time, that the boy still kept in full vigor, the teacher again asked about the means, when the boy honestly told that he went a begging again, this, too, was forbidden him; then he fed himself on cow's milk, then merely on the froth of milk which the calves left on the adders of the cows, and when all these devices were proscribed by the teacher, the poor boy was obliged to eat अर्कपत्रs, which made him blind, and then, while finding his way back, fell into a ditch ! Dhaumya then found him out, and after offering prayers to the Aśvins, the boy was restored to his eyesight.

The number of such students, however, was necessarily very limited and quite insufficient to cover all the activities pertaining to farming and cows; and help from others-इतरे—was often sought to look after these works efficiently. These others, were of course, as their very name indicates, not of the Aryan fold, and were secured from the numerous inhabitants residing in the jungles, near by. They were treated most kindly, were also initiated into the sacred Vedic traditions, and some few of them really proved most apt and capable students-an instance of such exceptional talent we find, in the name ऐतरेय, a son of इतरा-from the other's class; this ऐतरेय has a ब्राह्मण, and आरण्यक to his credit !

But most of these un-Aryans were not able to pick up the learning of their teachers and after their initiation, only did their duty of कृषि and गोरक्ष्य, honestly. So that the exception of ऐतरेय only proves the rule: that all of them were initiated into the Vedic fold, and attached to the duty of farming and tending the cows. These, to my mind, formed the विशः the masses, the people, the settlers of the land, and the class—name वैश्य was subsequently brought into use, as applicable to these people. The learned authors of the Vedic Index state that the meaning of this term is 'doubtful' if the above time of thinking be accepted, some light, it is hoped, may hereby serve to dispel the 'doubts' about the meaning of the terms

Another point in this connection, is that the four Varnas are given their particular distinguishing colours, - actual physical colors, not due to the mixture or predominance of the three gunas as commentators would have us believe. Mahābhārata, Śānti, 188. 5 has

ब्राह्मणानां सितो वर्णः क्षत्रियाणां तु लोहितः ।
वैश्यानां पीतको वर्णः शूद्राणामसितस्तथा ॥

and Nilakantha, the commentator explains this वर्ण as - सित· स्वच्छ सत्त्वगुण लोहितो रजोगुण· पीतक रजस्तमोभ्यामिश्रः असित· कृष्णः तमोगुण. A still curious statement is found further on at ślokas 10 ff where, the sage Bhrgu tells भरद्वाज that all men were of equal status - द्विजा - at first, but subsequently fell into Varna division according to their particular activities inspired by particular gunas; कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गता ।

The late Mr Visvanath K. Rajawade, a well known scholar of Maratha history, gives (at p. 140) in his Marathi introduction to राधामाधवविलासचम्पू, his own theory about the चातुर्वर्ण्य basing his social history mostly on Pānini's grammar and Vedic literature :- " Even before the oldest of Ṛgvedic hymns was ever composed, Brāhmana was the only party in society; he was of a bright white colour, physically, while mentally tending towards high thoughts about God and soul. These Brāhmana Āryas came southwards, and met, on the Pamir plateau, in central Asia, the red—skinned, brave and hardy Ksatriyas, who are, in Aitareya Āranyaka, aptly compared with the Tiger of the jungle! — क्षत्रं वा एतद् आरण्यकानां पशूनां यद् व्याघ्र· । Brāhmanas being intellectually

superior, could easily influence these brave people, and the two joining hands to make a common cause, brought into existence, the most powerful organisation, that of ब्रह्मक्षत्र, which is, so often mentioned in our ancient literature. These combined people soon came across some yellow tribes who, though not warlike, were well versed in कृषि, गोरक्ष and वाणिज्य, prominent activities of peace time. These were given the name विश्, and they might be of the same stock as the Phonecians or Punics of the Romans, the Panis of Ṛgveda, from the west; or they might have been some offshoots of the yellow races of East Asia. Anyway, these yellow people were absorbed in the common Aryan fold, and thus was created the distinguished त्रैवर्ण्य of Vedic times!

These three groups, amicably cooperating among themselves, gradually occupied the southern parts consisting of Uttara Kuru. Hiranmaya, Ilāvrta etc. They met the dark-skinned śūdras in Uttarakuru, and Uttaramadra, north of the Himālayas, and it was in these parts that the चातुर्वर्ण्य was regularly organised, and a complete society established. This organisation continued to be in force, as these people advanced further south, across the Himālayas and established themselves in different parts of the Indian continent.

This theory about the formation of चातुर्वर्ण्य, being discussed in a Marathi book, has not received the attention of scholars It might be objected that it is only a subjective theory, but if we consider the matter without any bias, we shall have to admit that all such theories regarding society of Vedic or even pre-Vedic times, are bound to be more or less subjective, and when no definite conclusion can be drawn about these doubtful matters, this theory of the late Mr Rajawade, may be taken into consideration, when studying the history of those hoary ancient times.

In the limited space of the present article, it is not possible to discuss all the points at any length; and I propose now, to lay here, for the consideration of interested students, a rough outline of my own views, on this subject:

To my mind, the first two Varṇas, ब्राह्मण and क्षत्रिय come from one common stock—the Aryans, who came from somewhere in the North, and occupied the regions first around the Caspian—

कश्यप (?)—Sea, and then in parts of Central Asia. While forming fresh colonies in strange lands ब्राह्मणs formed the penetrating wedge-मुखं-while their brothers, the hardy and brave क्षत्रियs, protected them on both sides, thus forming the बाहु of this social विराट् पुरुष ! Both these activities required equal daring, and both having common interests at heart, there was perfect co-operation between these two Varnas. This policy of 'peaceful penetration' into new adjoining territories, was carefully followed by these Aryan settlers, even after they had successfully occupied the Northern part of India. They—i. e. the Brāhmana rsis, with their followers—had their colonies in the दण्डकारण्य, where they had to meet the राक्षस class, and the clash between the two, or more properly, the persecution of these peace-loving Brāhmanas, led to the attack from the क्षत्रिय rulers, who were the patrons of these colonists. The motive underlying this clash and subsequent attack can be clear, when we take into consideration the point that if these rsis only wanted peaceful habitations in solitude, they could very well have settled *in* the territory of their क्षत्रिय patrons. And it was mainly on account of this daring missionary spirit of the ब्राह्मणs, that they commanded special respect and careful attention of their क्षत्रिय rulers. The ब्रह्मक्षत्र was thus a most powerful organisation of the Aryans, and it enabled them to extend their settlements all over the wide expanse of the then known earth.

These same people, had among themselves, some who possessed neither of these qualities necessary for a ब्राह्मण or a क्षत्रिय ; and it was quite natural ; you can not expect all people to be of the same calibre. So these third-class men formed the ordinary stock having nothing to lead, but simply to obey the orders of the leaders ; and this third-class continued to be greatly added to as the colonies extended over larger regions, where the indigenous people who were meek and sub-missive, were easily absorbed, and thus the whole mass formed the विश· , a class, who were engaged in peaceful pursuits of social good, those of कृषि and गोरक्ष.

For centuries together, this classification was not strict, and the three classes were equally privileged to take part in all the religious activities ; but subsequently, a large split came among

these Aryan settlers on the Caspian, and while a part of these continued to stay there--afterwards going South into *IRAN*—another section moved East and came to the highlands of Central Asia, where they met, and absorbed among themselves, the meek yellow people who found places in the third and general class, that of विशः, the dark skinned शूद्रs were probably the aborigines of the Indian soil, who could not be so easily captured, and these—दस्युs of Ṛgveda—continued to trouble the settlers, for a long time, and even after their subjugation, were kept at arm's distance, being asked to do only menial labour, but in no way allowed to mix with the Aryan people, in social or religious functions. The yellow and dark colours are thus accounted for; stirring passions change white to red; so we may take the red colour of Ksatriyas, as a mark of passionate temper and of bravery, the original colour being the same-white-as that of the Brāhmanas. This original white colour is still conspicuous among our Parsi brothers, these who had settled in Iran, south of the Caspian Sea.

The addition of वाणिज्य-trade-to कृषि and गोरक्ष, fell to the lot of the वैश्यs, as the people had settled in social life, cities and villages came to be built properly, and inter-communication became a regular need of society, and state On account of their occupation as a class, वैश्य came into contact with the शूद्र, while the two uppers forming the head and arms of society, sometimes indulged in a contest for supremacy, as references to such incidents are found in Epic ; nd Puranic sources. But as long as the ब्राह्मण was useful as a daring leader in extending the Aryanisation of the whole land, so long the क्षत्रिय rulers were eager and careful to keep the good will of this self-less class; and it was only when the ब्राह्मण had left nothing of this sort to do, and wanted to assert his superiority merely on the strength of his religion and philosophy, that the people, especially the ruling class, showing their unwillingness to submit, came into clash; but all through these conflicts between ब्रह्म and क्षत्र, we have to note that the वैश्य and शूद्र, remained quite indifferent, and engaged themselves in their allotted work of कृषि, गोरक्ष and वाणिज्य. The hard and fast classification, which is referred to in the भगवद्गीता, is a developement that came about at a comparatively late period, of our social history of Ancient times.

AN OPENING VERSE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

It is well-known that the opening verse in the *Mahābhārata* differs in the various recensions of the Epic–Northern and Southern and therein again in the several texts of the Telugu, Grantha and Malayalam (Kerala) versions. It would be impossible to dogmatize as to which of these versions has the imprimatur of Vyāsa himself or is the one that most faithfully represents the original version given out by him. The task of fixing the correct original *textus simplicior* of the Epic must be left an open one or perhaps to specialists in the field of Epic-study and criticism. The great Critical Edition of the Epic taken up by the Bhandarkar Institute may be expected to solve the question provided all the manuscript materials are tapped which does not seem still to be the case. My task in this paper is but a very modest one of bringing to the notice of scholars and students of the Epic, the existence of a Version (I do not go so far as to dub it a Recension) of the Epic known to and commented upon in the thirteenth century by the great Vedantic philosopher Śrī Madhvācārya and which opened with the benedictory verse

नारायणं सुरगुरुं जगदेकनाथं भक्तप्रियं सकललोकनमस्कृतं च ।
त्रैगुण्यवर्जितमजं विभुमाद्यमीशं वन्दे भवघ्नममरासुरसिद्धवन्द्यम् ॥

From the evidence of Mss, let in by the Critical Edition of the Epic published by the Bhandarkar Institute, we find that the above śloka occurs in only one of the texts of the South Indian Recension–the Kerala or Malabar version and there too in only one of the three manuscripts collated (Cochin State Library No. 1). But the antiquity and genuineness of the verse itself go back to many centuries and rest upon the testimony of the *Mahābhārata-Tātparya-Nirnaya* an epitome, and running commentary in Sanskrit written by Śri Madhvācārya about 1300 A.D. So far as our present knowledge goes, this commentary might claim to be the earliest dateable Sanskrit commentaryon the Epic.

ii

At the very outset of his *Tātparyanirnaya*, Madhva says that the Epic (of course in the version that he regarded as authentic) opens with the benedictory stanza " नाराय ग‍ं सुरगुरूं जगदेकनाथं " and proceeds to comment upon this verse in his turn :

> ज्ञानप्रदः स भगवान्कमलाविरिंचिशर्वादिपूर्वजगतो निखिलाद्वरिष्ठः ।
> भक्त्यैव तुष्यति हरिप्रवणत्वमेव सर्वस्य धर्म इति पूर्वविभागसंस्थः ॥ 59 ॥
> निर्दोषक सृतिविहीन उदारपूर्णसत्रिगुण प्रथमकृत्सकलात्मशक्ति ।
> मोक्षैकहेतुरसरूपसुरैश्च सुक्तैर्वन्द्य स एक इति चोक्तमथोत्तरार्धे ॥ 60 ॥
> नम्यत्वमुक्तमुभयत्र × × × ।
> इत्थं हि सर्वगुणपूर्तिरमुष्य विष्णोः प्रस्ताविता प्रथमतः प्रतिजानतेव ॥61॥

It would be clear from the above, that the verse नारायणं सुरगुरूं could not be Madhva's own (as has been fancied by some) but that in his opinion, it goes back to the original Epic text at least according to the textual tradition inherited by him in the thirteenth century and current in that part of the country (i. e the South Kanara district and Tulunād of which he was a native). Considering the purity and accuracy with which Kerala and its vicinities have preserved the ancient works of Sanskrit literature which have unfortunately disappeared from the other parts of India, it is not unlikely that the Kerala versions preserve much authentic materials. While it is thus indubitably true that the earliest reference to the verse " नारायणं सुरगुरूम् " is to be found in the metrical commentary of Madhvācārya, he is not certainly the author of it. He makes it clear in his commentary that he regards the verse as belonging to the original nay its very first verse. Furthermore, he is also found to quote the second quarter of this verse in his *Gitābhāsya*, as from the *Mahābhārata* under Gitā IX. 26.

> भक्तप्रियं सकललोकनमस्कृतं च इति भारते ॥ and again
> केवलो निर्गुणश्च इत्यादि श्रुतिभ्यश्च । "त्रैगुण्यवर्जितम् " (Bharata)
> इति चोक्तम् IX 13

And we have already seen that this verse is accepted as the opening one in one of the Mss. of the Kerala Recension of the present day. Madhva was himself a native of Tulunād which lies immediately north of Kerala proper and which is part of the

Holy Land of Paraśurāma to which the religious poet Vādirāja pays a graceful compliment :

कर्णे पदन्यस्तरुची रिरंसुर्वाराशिवस्त्रं जघनाद्रि यस्या ।
अमूसुचह्वाणकरेण सूमे· श्रीभार्गवः सा जयति क्षितिर्नः ॥

(*Tīrthaprabandha* i).

It is not unlikely that his version was in agreement in the main with the Kerala version, and the South Indian Recension, judging by the criteria proposed by Prof P. P. S. Sastri viz., (1) the exclusion of the Ganeśa episode, to which there is no reference in Madhva or Vādirāja's texts (2) the inclusion of the Kanika episode and (3) the absence of reference to the 8800 enigmatic verses ·

अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।
अहं वेद्मि शुको वेत्ति सञ्जयो वेत्ति वा न वा ॥

Madhva not only knew the North Indian version ; but claims to have constituted his text after a careful and critical examination of the manuscript material from different parts of the country and upon a ' higher criticism ' of the text upon principles which he indicates in the prolegomena to his work. It appears from his statements that he exercised great care and caution in fixing up a Vulgate text of his own after a wide and representative collection of Mss from different parts of India based on different Recensions. It would be well to remember in this connection that his commentary on the Epic was written by him more or less towards the closing part of his life when he had already toured the north and southern parts of India many times and built up a precious library of his own It may be said of Madhva as of no other ancient writer that he truly and most vividly anticipated the difficulties of modern Research scholars of the Epic and may very properly be described as the pioneer of Mahābhārata text-criticism. He sounds a familiarly modern note

क्वचिद्ग्रन्थान् प्रक्षिपन्ति क्वचिदन्तरितानपि ।
कुर्युः क्वचिच्च व्यत्यास प्रमादात्क्वचिदन्यथा ॥ 3 ॥
अनुत्सन्ना अपि ग्रन्था व्याकुला इति सर्वशः ।
देशे देशे तथा ग्रन्थान् दृष्ट्वा चैव पृथग्विधान् ॥ 7 ॥

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[1] His date was antedated by three centuries by P P. S Sastri. For a complete criticism of P. P S. Sastri's date and fixation of the real date of Vādirāja see my paper on his date in the Annals, B. O. R. I. Vol. XVIII, pp. 187-197

यथा स भगवान्व्यास' साक्षान्नारायणः प्रभुः ।
जगाद भारताद्येषु तथा वक्ष्ये तदीक्षया ॥ Mbh. TN. II. 8.

it would be obvious that a text so constituted by an ancient writer of his standing deserves greater attention from modern scholars than has been bestowed upon it so far. But so far as his followers were concerned it was naturally this text that was recognised. Vādirāja one of the most eminent followers of Madhva in the sixteenth century commented upon this text in his *Lakṣālaṃkāra* and this commentary, is declared by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri to be based on the South Indian Recension published by him and follow it closely. Prof Sastri seems further to look upon this as testifying to the authenticity and provenness of the text published by him that Vādirāja's प्रतीकs should agree with those of his text. By way of illustration of his thesis, he has published Vādirāja's commentary on the Sabhā Parva

It may therefore be pointed out that there are fundamental deviations in Vādirāja from the S. Indian text now published by P. P. S. Sastri. The latter begins straightway without any benedictory verses (मङ्गलाचरण) with the prose text · रोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवा etc. The North Indian Recension begins with नारायणं[1] नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव॰ Prof Sastri holds that the S Indian Recension is right in discarding the usual stereotyped *Mangalācarana* and that a metrical benediction can have really no place at the commencement of the Epic. Be that as it may, the Laksālamkāra has a *very elaborate* commentary on नारायणं सुरगुरुं जगदेकनाथं × × × × × × which it regards as the opening benedictory verse of the Epic, following the lead of Madhva's *Tātparyanirṇaya* in this and in other respects such as the readings of verses and the inclusion of three more benedictory verses in the beginning. It could not be otherwise seeing that Vādirāja was a faithful adherent of Madhva and claims to follow his lead :

नारायणस्य व्यासस्य मध्वस्य च कृपाबलात् ।
भारतश्लोकलक्षस्यालङ्कार. क्रियते मया ॥ I. 5.

Prof. P. P. S. Sastri is not therefore justified in dismissing the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम् + + and Vādirāja's comment on it as an

[1] " Found only in Kashmir 1,2 , D (9, 13 missing) T1 G7 (margin) and very few of Southern Mss.—Telugu and Grantha — " (Sukthankar).

interpolation on the basis of a certain passage : ' अत एवादौ भवगतो माङ्गलिकरोमहर्षणपदापादोनात् न पृथङ्मङ्गलाचरणम् " that is found in certain of the Mss. of Laksālamkāra under the words रोमहर्षण-पुत्र उग्रश्रवाः " It seems far more reasonable to reject this single line as an interpolation than to dismiss the entire and very long comment on the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम्. The very length and cogency of the passage forbids such a summary disposal. Apart from this, the *Laksālamkāra* comments next upon two other benedictory stanzas of the Epic :

कृष्णो मुक्तैरिज्यते वीतमोहैः कृष्णो यज्ञैरिज्यते सोमपूतैः ।
कृष्णो वीरैरिज्यते विक्रमद्भिः कृष्णो वन्यैरिज्यते संमृशानैः ॥
सृष्टा ब्रह्मादयो देवा निहता येन दानवा ।
तस्मै देवाधिदेवाय नमस्ते शार्ङ्गधारिणे ॥

The comment on the first of these : इदानीं " सिद्ध " पदस्य मुक्तपरतां स्पष्टयन् मुक्तामुक्तसकलसज्जनपूज्यो हरिरेवेति वस्तुनिर्देशाय मङ्गलान्तरमाचरति--कृष्णो मुक्तै इति ॥ presupposes the term सिद्ध in सुरसिद्धवन्द्यं in the previous verse—वन्दे भयघ्नममरासुरसिद्धवन्द्यम् 1d The comment on the third verse is equally significant विघ्नबाहुल्ये मङ्गलबाहुल्यमिति ध्वनयितुं मङ्गलान्तरमाचारि– ' सृष्टा ब्रह्मादयो देवा ' इति । अत्र स्रष्टृत्वं मुक्तिस्रष्टृत्वमेवाभिमतम् ।

After these elaborate comments on the opening verses Vādirāja introduces his commentary on the story proper with following remark :

अधुना कथामारभते—" रोमहर्षण पुत्र उग्रश्रवा " इत्यादिना ।

Here, the term अधुना is significant and presupposes the existence of some kind of benedictory verses at the outset.

II

The conclusion that Vādirāja did recognize the presence of certain benedictory verses in the beginning of the Epic and that in his opinion the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम् + + + was the first of that kind is fully attested by his other work the commentary on Madhva's *Mahābhāratatātparyanirnaya* which we have already shown reads नारायणं सुरगुरुं as the first मङ्गलश्लोक of the Epic. Commenting on II. 59 of his original which runs :

ज्ञानप्रद· स भगवान् कमलाविरिंचिशर्वादिपूर्वजगतो निखिलादुरितः·

× × ×

Vādirāja writes :— अधुना भारतादपद्य एव सर्वोत्तमत्वादि सकलमहिम्नां निरूपितत्वात्, उपक्रमानुसारेण ग्रन्थस्य योजनीयत्वात्, लक्षभारतवाक्यान्यपि भगवन्माहात्म्यपराणीति भावेन लोकशिक्षणाय भारतादौ विरचितं मङ्गलपद्यं पठति— नारायणं सुरगुरुं " इति । सुरगुरुमित्यस्यार्थकथनं " कमलाविरिंचिशर्वादिपूर्वजगतो ज्ञानप्रद " इति

Now, not only does Vādirāja simply comment on the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम् as a matter of course; but he also deliberately raises the precise issue we are debating viz. the genuineness and authenticity of the verse नारायणं सुरगुरुम in question and particularly the need for a benedictory stanza at all. It is gratifying to note that *a la* the modern critical scholar, Vādirāja points to the occurrence of this verse in manuscripts preserved in the "Kerala and other countries" 'क्वचिदन्तरितानपि' (Mbh. TN. II. 3[b]) इति वचनात् इदमाद्यपद्यं असहमाना केचिदादौ न लिखन्ति । केरलादिदेशस्थपुस्तकेष्वद्यापि दृश्यते ॥

He also considers it most unlikely that Vyāsa who has incorporated benedictory verses in the beginning of the comparatively shorter works like *Bhāgavata* and *Harivaṁśa* could have failed to do so in such a prodigious work as the Mahābhārata कथमन्यथा लोकाचार्यो व्यास· लक्षपरिमितं ग्रन्थं कुर्वन् ग्रन्थादौ लोकशिक्षणाय मङ्गलं न रचयेत ? यतोऽल्पीयसि ग्रन्थे भागवते हरिवंशादौ च—'सत्यं पर धीमहि' 'सोऽनादिर्वासुदेवः शमयतु दुरितं जन्मजन्मार्जितं नः' इति लोकशिक्षणार्थे मङ्गलमकरोत ? अतोऽस्मिन्महाग्रन्थे सकलशिष्टानामग्रणीर्व्यासो मङ्गलमाचरेदेवेति ज्ञेयम् ॥

(Tulu Ms. Sode Mutt Udipi).

It would thus be evident that the eschewal of benedictory verses from the beginning of the *Mahābhārata* and the omission of "नारायणं सुरगुरु जगदेकनाथं etc. as the first verse in this connection are sternly discountenanced by Vādirāja and that therefore no S. Indian recension that omits this verse and those that follow, would be acceptable to Madhva and Vādirāja or be recognized by them as representing the authentic (S. Indian) version. In these circumstances, it is dubious if the South Indian version published by Prof. Sastri could be made to rest on the authority of Vādirāja.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE KṚṢṆACARITA

BY

JAGAN NATH

In August 1941 Rājavaidva Jīvarāma Kālidasa of Gondāl, published, from a fragmentary manuscript of three leaves only what may be described as 'introduction' to a poetical work called the Kṛṣṇacaritam attributed in the colophon to Mahārājādhirāja Vikramānka Srī-Samudra Gupta

The first section of this introduction originally consisted of thirty three verses of which the first twelve are now lost and the remaining twentyone only have been preserved. In this section the author has dealt with the ancient poets whom he designated as मुनिकवय (sage poets). In this section the following authors and works are mentioned :—

1 Śānkhāyana —He wrote a poem called Kanthābharana.

2 Vararuci — He wrote a Kāvya named Svargārohana.

3 Kātyāyana — He not only wrote the *Vārtikas* on Pānini's Grammar, but also followed in his footsteps in writing poetry. His work is not mentioned

4 Vyādi :— He is described as a poet, and philosopher of the Mīmāmsā school. He wrote a *Mahākāvya* called the *Bālacarita* which excelled the Mahabhārata of Vyāsa.

5 Devala:— the author of Indravijaya

6 Patañjali — He is the author of the great commentary on Pānini's Grammar He revised the Samhitā of Caraka, and wrote a poem called योगदर्शन containing an exposition of the Yoga system of Philosphy This work appears to be distinct from the well known Sutra treatise of the same name

7 Bhāsa:— the author of a brilliant Mahākāvya, and twenty plays. He wrote a play named Vāsavadattā, and made the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata more enjoyable by dramatising their story and adding various episodes of his own making. Other poets imitated him in writing plays. He did not completely follow Pānini's system of grammar

8 Vardhamāna— the author of Bhīmajaya.

9 Cīnadeva — He was a foreigner. He wrote both in Māgadhī and Sanskrit, a poem called the Buddhacarita.

10 Mihiradeva.— He was a Persian. He wrote a panegyric of the god sun in one hundred *śikhariṇī* verses.

These are the ten sage-poets to whom the author paid his tribute, by recording their names and the works they had written.

The second section deals with the royal poets and the following names are mentioned :—

1 Subandhu.— He is described as a court poet of King Bindusāra whose displeasure he incurred and was thrown into the prison. By the favour of Goddess Sarasvatī, he managed to escape from the prison and went to king Vatsarāja, who gave him five villages and the hand of his sister. He wrote a poem called Vatsarājacarita, and an unnamed play.

2 Śūdraka :— Equal to Indra in valour, he performed an *aśvamedha* sacrifice and having overthrown the Śakas started his own era called the Vikrama era. He wrote treatises on the science of archery and stealing He was the author of two plays. He also composed the Mṛcchakaṭika in nine acts In this work he described his own exploits This work became known as Āryakajaya Having placed his son Devamitra on the throne he retired to the forest.

3 Kālidāsa :—At Sudraka's court was the great poet Kālidāsa who composed a play dealing with the love romance of king Dusyanta. Besides this, he wrote three minor plays.

4 Sūra — A Buddhist scholar, author of two Mahākāvyas the Saunanda and the Buddhacarita His other name was Ghoṣa He wrote treatises on the exposition of Buddhist doctrine. He also took part in a great congregation of Buddhist teachers

5 Hariscandra — He was the king of Pāñcāla and wrote a work called *Karnakīrtti*.

6 Mātrgupta — He was not only a *Kavirāja* but also a king, who had obtained the kingdom of Kashmir through the favour of the goddess Sarasvatī

7 Āvantika — Author of Śūdrakajaya.

8 Harisena alias Kālidāsa or Raghukāra :— He held the exalted position of Minister of Samudragupta and was the supreme authority in matters of peace and war He was styled Kumārasaciva. He acted as Brahmā priest at the sacrificial performances of his royal patron. He wrote the Raghuvamśa and four

other minor poems. He prevailed upon the king to write the Kṛṣṇacarita.

The section ends with the account of these eight royal poets. In the colophon this section is designated as राजकविकीर्तन in the कथाप्रस्तावना of कृष्णचरित composed by Śrī Vikramāṅka Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhāgavata Śrī Samudra Gupta

The information supplied by this manuscript is interesting, as it has the charm of novelty. Some of the names of authors and works are quite familiar, others are less commonly known like Vyāḍi, while some are altogether new. Some of the statements made in this work are in conflict with quite wellknown and well-established facts of political and literary history of ancient India. These require a careful examination.

Firstly, it has been stated about Subandhu that he fled from the imprisonment of Bindusāra and went to Vatsarāja who gave him shelter. Thus according to this work Bindusāra and Vatsarāja Udayana were contemporaries, which is an impossibility, since Udayana flourished long before the establishment of the Maurya empire It may be argued that this Vatsarāja may not be Udayana but a different monarch of later times. But this much at least must be conceded that only an independent and powerful king could have dared to give protection to Subandhu who had incurred the displeasure of Bindusāra. Now Bindusāra was an imperial sovereign whose dominions included the whole of Northern India, and parts of the Deccan. The small kingdoms into which India had been divided in the days of Buddha, had all been swept away by the rising power of Magadha Therefore there can be no possibility of an independent contemporary of Bindusāra, who could thus openly flout the wishes of the Maurya sovereign with impunity. We know from the Greek accounts that Bindusāra was a ruler of stern disposition who never spared his enemies as his title of *Amitrochates* shows. Therefore no vassal rulers could have dared to offend such an overlord. This statement of the present work is therefore, opposed to the facts of history.

Secondly the work mentions two Kālidāsas—one the contemporary of Śudraka Vikramāditya and author of the plays Śakuntalā, etc. and the other Hariṣena, the Foreign Minister of Samudragupta and the author of Raghuvamśa and other poems. However the internal evidence of the works themselves shows that the author of Śakuntalā, Raghuvamśa, Kumārsambhava and

Meghadūta is one and the same person. The following close similarities in thought and expression clearly prove the common authorship of the plays and poems.

1. Śakuntalā, II, 5 मेदश्छेदकृशोदरं लघु भवत्युत्थानयोग्यं वपुः सत्त्वानामपि लक्ष्यते विकृतिमच्चित्तं भयक्रोधयोः । उत्कर्षः स च धन्विनां यदिषवः सिध्यन्ति लक्ष्ये चले मिथ्यैव व्यसनं वदन्ति मृगयामीदृग्विनोदः कुतः ॥	1 Raghuvaṃśa, IX, 49. परिचयं चललक्ष्यनिपातने भयरुषोश्च तदिङ्गितबोधनम् । श्रमजयात् प्रगुणां च करोत्यसौ तनुमतोऽनुमतः सचिवैर्ययौ ॥
2. Śakuntalā, I, 6 c and d मृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पश्यामीव पिनाकिनम् ।	2 Raghuvaṃśa, XI, 44 cd. विद्रुतक्रतुमृगानुसारिणं येन बाणमसृजद् वृषध्वजः ।
3 Śakuntalā, III, 10 स्मर एव तापहेतुर्निर्वापयिता स एव मे जातः दिवस इवाभ्रश्यामस्तपात्यये जीवलोकस्य ॥	3. Raghuvaṃśa, X, 83. ते प्रजानां प्रजानाथास्तेजसा प्रश्रयेण च । मनो जह्रुर्निदाघान्ते श्यामाभ्रा दिवसा इव ॥
4. Śakuntalā, IV, 4 cd अवेहि तनयां ब्रह्मन्नग्निगर्भां शमीमिव ।	4. Raghuvaṃśa, III, 9. शमीमिवाभ्यन्तरलीनपावकाम् । नृपः समत्त्वां महिषीममन्यत ॥
5. Śakuntalā, IV, 12. उद्गलितदर्भकवला मृग्यः परित्यक्तनर्तना मयूराः । अपसृतपाण्डुपत्रा मुञ्चन्त्यश्रूणीव लताः ॥	5. Raghuvaṃśa, XIV, 69. नृत्यं मयूराः कुसुमानि वृक्षा दर्भानुपात्तान् विजहुर्हरिण्यः । तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासीद्रुदितं वनेऽपि ॥
6. Śakuntalā, V, 2. रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान् पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः । तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥	6 Raghuvaṃśa, XI, 22. वामनाश्रमपदं ततः परं पावनं श्रुतमृषेरुपेयिवान् । उन्मनाः प्रथमजन्मचेष्टितान्य- स्मरन्नपि बभूव राघवः ॥
7. Śakuntalā, VII, 34. तव भवतु बिडौजाः प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु त्वमपि विततयज्ञो वज्रिणं प्रीणयस्व । युगशतपरिवर्तानेवमन्योन्यकृत्यै- र्नयतमुभयलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः ॥	7. Raghuvaṃśa, I, 26. दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय सस्याय मघवा दिवम् । संपद्विनिमयेनोभौ दधतुर्भुवनद्वयम् ॥
8 Śakuntalā, V, 6 b क्लिश्नाति लब्धपरिपालनवृत्तिरेव ।	8. Raghuvaṃśa, XIX, 3 a. लब्धपालनविधौ न तत्सुतः खेदमाप ।

These parallellisms in thought and expression strongly indicate that the author of the Abhijñānaśākuntalam and the Raghuvaṁśa is one and the same person. Besides these there are many other instances of the use of similar constructions and ideas to be found in the plays and the poems. For instance the poet is very fond of the construction क क. In the Raghuvaṁśa we have क सूर्यप्रभवो वंश क चाल्पविषया मति. । In the Meghadūta we have धूमज्योति. सलिलमरुतां सन्निपात: क मेघ, सन्देशार्थाः क पटुकरणै: प्राणिभि. प्रेषणीयाः । A similar construction we have in the Śakuntalā, क बत हरिणकानां जीवन चातिलोल, क च निशितनिपाताः वज्रसारा शरास्ते । and क वयं क परोक्षमन्मथो मृगशावै: सममेधितो जन ॥ Again, the mention of the mango tree and the Navamālikā creeper together and comparing them to a youth and a maiden is a common idea in the Raghuvaṁśa and the Abhijñānaśākuntalam, as may be seen from the following instances

मिथुनं परिकल्पितं त्वया सहकार फलिनी च नन्विमौ ।

Raghuvaṁśa, VIII, 61.

चूतेन संश्रितवती नवमालिकेयं । Śakuntalā, IV, 13

इयं स्वयंवरवधू. सहकारस्य त्वया कृतनामधेया वनज्योत्स्नेति नवमालिका ।

Śakuntalā, I.

Further the use of the root आ √ वृज् in the sense of pouring out has been made frequently in these works —

1. इति कलशमावर्जयति । Śakuntalā, I.
2. आवर्जिताष्टापदकुम्भतोयै । Kumārasambhava, VII, 10.
3. त्वदावर्जितवारि सभृतम् । Kumārasambhava, V, 34.

The community of thought and expression between the plays and the poems, conclusively proves, that all of them are written by the same author. The suggestion of two Kālidāsas, one the author of the plays and the other the author of the *Mahākāvyas* is absolutely baseless and in conflict with the evidence of the works themselves It would not be too much to suggest that the author of this fragment has merely versified some of the recent suggestions, e. g Jayaśamkara Prasad, put forward the theory of two Kālidāsa's in his *Skandagupta*.

It is further to be noted that Harisena, the author of the Allahabad pillar inscription can never be the author of the Raghuvaṁśa. There is a fundamental difference in the tempera-

ment of the two. While the author of the Raghuvamśa is absolutely uncommunicative about his personality—so much so that he does not mention even his name in the poem—Harisena has not only mentioned his name as the author of the inscription but has also given many details about himself such as the name of his father, the name of his native place, his official title and the offices he held. Is it too much to expect that he would have himself stated that he was known as a second Kālidāsa if he really was?

These verses which have been passed by its author whoever he is as the introduction to the poem Krsnacarita, are *prima facie* a forgery, an attempt to weave the scattered information concerning ancient authors into one piece [1] To endow it with authenticity, the name of Samudragupta has been invented. It is clearly intended to provide '*fresh evidence*' for solving some of the puzzles in the history of Sanskrit literature and the political history of ancient India, such as the authorship of the Mrcchakatika the authenticity of the Trivandrum plays, the date of Kālidāsa, the origin of the Vikarma Era, etc etc.

[1] The reference to the association of Subandhu with Bindusāra is to be found in the Avantisundarikathā, the account of Śudraka is taken from the Mrcchakatika with minor additions, the mention of Rāmila and Somila is found in an oft quoted verse.

A NEW INTERPRETATION of the expression, शिलाघनमध्यस्थप्रदीपसहस्रकथन, in Śamkara's commentary on Br. Sū I, ii 28

BY

SHRINIVAS DIXIT

All the commentators and interpreters of Śamkara seem to have missed the real significance of this expression when they unanimously agree in interpreting it thus " that to say an idea, like a lamp, reveals itself spontaneously without standing in need of anything else to illumine it, — it is tantamount to asserting that the idea, which no means-of-proof can ever reveal, needs also no percipient for its perception, as though a thousand lamps blazing in the interior of some rock were to make themselves manifest therein. '' Now what is the significance of the analogy of the lamps in the interior of a stone here ? In order to understand this, let us know the drift of the passage

The Vijñānavādin says that only ideas exist Why ? For, they alone are immediately perceived, while the objects as such being presumably of the nature of non-knowledge can never enter the field of consciousness. Whatever is known, is known, and therefore an idea, and whatever is unknown, is totally unknown, and therefore cannot be known to exist This means the same thing as to say that the object lacking illumination (*i. e*, a relation to consciousness or the status of being an idea, in our modern terminology) can never be known, while an idea having illumination (i e. a relation to consciousness) can alone be the object of knowledge.

To this, Śamkara replies, even an idea must require an illumination from some external source (The neo-realist may well understand by this that an entity becomes an idea when it enters a certain relation)

The Buddhist reply to this is: "I recognize ideas as self-luminous". This is the position that Hume had arrived at in declaring that the whole world is an unceasing flux of ideas. For, Hume also had tentatively suggested that there may be ideas which are not ideas of anybody.

Śamkara's answer to this is, शिलाघनमध्यस्थप्रदीपसहस्रकथनवत्. It is quite apt if we expand it thus "By saying that there can be ideas without being known (अनवगन्तृकं विज्ञानं), you are taking away the very differentia of an idea On your hypothesis everything will be an idea But it would only mean that what we call a thing you choose to designate as an idea But, surely, for that reason it becomes an *idle hypothesis*, as idle and barren as to hypothesize a thousand candles burning in the interior of a stone. The hypothesis makes no difference to the things that can be verified. Even if there were no lamps burning there, or there were ten thousand instead of one thousand, the things would be the same. Similarly, if there were ideas without being known, there will be no difference between our world view and your world view The only difference is that you call the things of the world ideas and we call them objects Then the designation 'idea' will be pointless. But there will be sense in calling the objects ideas, not at all times, but only when they receive illumination (i. e they enter into a relation with consciousness)"

This sort of interpretation will credit Śamkara with anticipating the arguments of modern neo-realism according to which a thing becomes an idea without losing its identity as an object by entering a new relation. An object is an idea not by reason of its stuff but due to its function Śamkara certainly, though vaguely, implies this. For, otherwise the analogy of unknown ideas' with 'lamps in the interior of a stone' has nothing in common The lamps in the interior of a stone will still be lamps, while the unknown ideas will not be ideas in any significant sense. That the lamps will not illumine other objects is beside the point. That proves nothing. They will be as good lamps as any that there be. Yet this is how the expression is traditionally interpreted. On that interpretation, there is no analogy whatsoever. But by his *vat*, Śamkara clearly means an analogy.

That my meaning was implied by Śamkara is clear from the fact that he does not say that there is an analogy between the rock-hidden lamps and the unknown ideas, but between *saying* (अवक्ता) that unknown ideas exist and *telling* (कथनवत्) that a thousand lamps burn in the interior of a massive stone. The analogy is between the general character of the hypotheses as such (i. e. both of them are idle) and not between the specific assertions made therein.

That Samkara did not much develop such a realistic flash is unfortunate. Had he done so, he would have been the founder of modern realism. For that, it would not have been necessary for him to abandon his ब्रह्मकारणवाद्. Epistemological realism is quite compatible with an ontological idealism

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